

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,

&c. &c.

1

14

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Vol. 5.

Engl. Army
76

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

BRITISH REGIMENTS

EMPLOYED SINCE THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND KING JAMES I.

IN THE

FORMATION AND DEFENCE

OF THE

DUTCH REPUBLIC,

PARTICULARLY OF THE

SCOTCH BRIGADE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. KAY, NO. 332, OPPOSITE SOMERSET-
HOUSE, STRAND; T. AND J. EGERTON, WHITE-
HALL; AND W. CREECH, EDINBURGH.

M. DCC. XCV.

46

1. 8
757



P R E F A C E.

WHOEVER has the honour of his country at heart, cannot be indifferent to the History of Bodies of Troops which were, during a long course of years, its only Representatives in the Wars of the Continent, and whose behaviour was not unworthy of the Victors in the Fields of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; nor of that People beyond whose Frontier the Conquerors of all other Nations were forced, after an hundred and twenty-eight years war, to withdraw the Boundary of their Empire.

An illustrious Military Writer* considers a permanent Body of Troops as a kind of Immortal Being : it assimilates to itself the nourishment it receives, and remains always

* Raymond Count Montecuculi, Generalissimo of the Imperial Armies.

the

the same. This was more particularly the case in Regiments where the same Officers served all their lives, from the age of sixteen. Those whose History is here related, were trained by the greatest Masters of the Military Science then in Europe; so that, considering how much the Nation is qualified by nature to form excellent Troops, it is no wonder their behaviour was such as the Reader will find in the following pages, and such as in some instances he must, to meet with a parallel, go as far back as the Streights of Thermopylæ defended by the Lacedemonians.

We believe that the revival of this Body of Troops, which HIS MAJESTY has been pleased to order, will be agreeable to the whole Nation. It became that race who have destroyed every thing that deserved to exist in their country, to abolish all the old Regiments which had maintained its honour during a long course of years. Whatever has been before considered as an honour to France, was the greatest object of
their

their hatred*. Those who endeavoured to extinguish the memory of their best and greatest King, and pulled down his Statue, could not spare the living records of his victories, the Regiments by which he had gained them. The first of these was a body of Horse Guards, originally Scotch, consisting of three hundred and fifty Gentlemen, who had rank as Lieutenants of Cavalry; and it may be considered as a great compliment to the Scotch Nation, that although that first company of the Life Guards had been entirely French, as well

* A Note upon page 22, where mention is made of that great and numerous body of the French nation distinguished by the name of Noblesse, requires some explanation, to prevent its being supposed that the description there given, is meant to include a great number of families who obtained merely by favour, the privileges and exemptions belonging to those families who had ever been the defenders of France, and served mostly at their own expence. The immunities which these enjoyed, never would have been considered as a grievance, not falling heavier on the people than an augmentation of the Officers' pay which must have supplied their place had they been abolished; but the inferior classes of the people could see no reason why families who had no such pretensions, should be exempted from taxes which others were obliged to pay.

as

as the three others, for more than a hundred years past, yet the French Monarchs distinguished it to the last by the name of the Scotch Company. The date of the first company of the Life Guards bearing the name of French, is 1475, but the Scotch Company was certainly the oldest body of regular troops in Europe, whether horse or foot; and those Powers whose regular troops are of the oldest date, have very few Regiments as old as those whose actions are the chief subject of the following Memoirs, and which have been long known in Europe by the name of the Scotch Brigade. Although they were not in the pay of their own country until the year 1688, yet they had subsisted more than a century before, by the authority of the Crown of Scotland, and were permanent on the peace establishment of that kingdom at the time they were sent last to the defence of the United Netherlands; since which time, the order of the Sovereign by which they were employed abroad, remained in force until the year 1782.

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

BEFORE either England or Scotland had any establishment of an army, there were both Scotch and English regiments employed in the war of seventy years, by which the United Provinces of the Netherlands were delivered from the yoke of Spain.

It appears, that the English regiments which served under the three first Princes of Orange, of the House of Nassau, had been disbanded some time betwixt the Peace of Munster and the Restoration of King Charles the Second; for we find in the year 1674, three new formed English regiments serving in the pay of the Dutch Republic, which, having come over with King William at the Revolution, have been ever since on the establishment, and are now the fifth and sixth of the British line.

The three Scotch regiments which came upon the establishment at the same time with the fifth

B

and

and sixth, having likewise landed with King William in England, had existed first as independent companies, and afterwards as regiments, from the year 1572 ; so that they were amongst the oldest regular troops in Europe. And, as they were the only standing troops belonging to Scotland, they were naturally called the Scotch Brigade.

The first mention we find of their distinguished behaviour, was at the Battle of Reminant, near Mechlin, in the year 1578: the most bloody part of the action, says Meteren, a Dutch Historian, was sustained by the Scotch, who fought without armour, and in their shirts, because of the great heat of the weather. After an obstinate engagement, the Spaniards, commanded by Don Juan of Austria, were defeated.

In the next year's campaign, the Scots, commanded by Colonel Balfour, surprized Menin, and took the Spanish and Walloon garrison prisoners, with little loss.

In the year 1581, William the First, Prince of Orange, sent an Agent to Scotland, to compliment King James the Sixth on the valour which the Scotch had displayed in the service of the States.

In

In the year 1584, the Spaniards having laid siege to Fort Lillo, on the Scheld, such a defence was made by Teligny, and by Balfour*, who had only four companies of Scots there under his command, that the Spaniards, after losing three weeks time, and two thousand men, before this small fort, were forced to change the siege into a blockade.

Queen Elizabeth having, in the year 1585, declined the Sovereignty of the United Provinces, which had been offered her by the States, after the murder of William I. Prince of Orange, sent Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, with five thousand men to their assistance. The behaviour of those troops is much praised by the Dutch Historians, particularly at the fight of Warnsfeld, where the brave Sir Philip Sydney was killed.

The Earl of Leicester having been obliged to withdraw from Holland, Peregrine Bertie†, Lord Willoughby, whom Queen Elizabeth sent to succeed him in the command of her troops, appointed Sir William Drury Governor of Bergen-op-zoom, which place was besieged in 1588, by Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma. When the

* History of the United Provinces, by Cerisier.

† Ancestor of the Dukes of Ancaster and Earls of Abingdon.

siege had lasted three months, a general sally of the garrison having been made, and General Balfour coming with a body of Scots from Tholen, and attacking the Spaniards at the same time on another side, they were forced to raise the siege, and to make a precipitate retreat. Amongst those who are mentioned as having had a principal share in the honour of that day, was Walter Scot of Buccleugh, who had carried over an entire regiment to the assistance of the Dutch. The title of Lord Scot of Buccleugh was afterwards conferred upon him by King James VI. for his military services, all of which, except the taking of the Castle of Carlisle, were performed in Holland.

At the sieges of Zutphen, Deventer, Hulst, and Nymeguen, all which places were taken in 1590 and 1591, by Prince Maurice of Nassau, who afterwards became Prince of Orange, by the death of Philip his elder brother, then a prisoner in Spain, the English troops were commanded by Sir Francis Vere*, the Scotch by General Balfour. The army, then employed in delivering the United Netherlands from the tyranny of Spain, consisted of the troops of five

* Sir Francis Vere and Sir Horatio Vere, afterwards mentioned, were younger sons of John Vere, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford of that illustrious family.

different nations, and was considered as the first military School in Europe ; Prince Maurice having, according to the Duke of Rohan, his cotemporary, revived the long forgotten Roman discipline. That Prince, and his brother Frederick Henry, were the masters of their nephew, the great Turenne, who introduced the same discipline into the French armies, and formed many able Generals, amongst others, our Marlborough.

The next exploit, in 1593, in which the Scotch Brigade was engaged, was the memorable siege of Gertruydenberg, during which such order was observed in the Prince of Orange's camp, that, according to a cotemporary Historian, all the inhabitants in the country round came to take refuge in it with their goods, their provisions, cattle, and poultry, which they found to be in the same safety as if they had been at their own farms in time of profound peace. After a siege of three months, the Spaniards surrendered. The number of English present were six Ensigns, or Colours (so the Historians of that time describe the troops), under the command of Sir Francis Vere. The Ensigns of the Scots, under General Balfour, were ten in number, and having been employed in the sharpest duty during the siege, they suffered so much, that Prince Maurice found
it

it necessary to leave them in garrison in Gertruydenberg until they should be recruited.

The numbers of the British troops then employed in the pay of the Dutch Republic cannot be exactly estimated, as we find the number of Ensigns differ on every occasion. At the siege of Nymeguen, already mentioned, were sixteen Ensigns under Sir Francis Vere, and ten under General Balfour. This division of troops under one* Ensign, or Banner, consisted in the Imperial army, about that time of four hundred men.

In 1594, the town of Coeverden being besieged by the Spaniards, under the command of Verdugo, Prince Maurice marched to its deliverance, with an army of eighty-six Banners, whereof ten were Scotch, under the command of Colonel Murray; their former General, Balfour, having been wounded at an action where Count William of Nassau obliged Verdugo to retreat. The Spaniards raised the siege without risking an engagement.

King James VI. of Scotland having invited the States General to be sponsors to his new-born son, Prince Henry, with the Queen of England, and

* Montecuculi.

the Kings of France and Denmark, the States sent over to Scotland an Embassy, composed of the first Nobles of the Republic, with magnificent presents to the infant Prince, and an annual pension for life, the contract of which was presented in a gold box. The former treaties of alliance betwixt Scotland and the Netherlands were then renewed and confirmed. On the departure of the Ambassadors, fifteen hundred Scots were sent over to Holland, to augment the Brigade.

In the month of May of the same year, Prince Maurice laid siege to the town of Groningen, and took it by surrender in July. Nineteen English Banners were present, commanded by Sir Francis Vere. Of the Scots were ten Banners, under the command of Colonel Murray.

The next year, in 1595, a body of the Scots, under Balfour, were present at the siege of Huy. And in the year 1597, Sir Francis Vere greatly distinguished himself at the head of a body of English horse, at Turnhout, where Prince Maurice gained a complete victory over the Spaniards.

During the same campaign, Prince Maurice besieged and took nine other fortified towns:
Rhynberg,

Rhynberg, Meurs, Groll, and Goor, Brevoort, Encheden, Oldenzel, Ootmarsen, and Lingén. At all those sieges we find thirteen Banners of English, commanded by Colonel Horatio Vere, brother to the General, and twelve of the Scotch, commanded sometimes by Balfour, sometimes by Murray. At the siege of Lingén, the besieged having made a sally, and burnt a mill, were drove back into the town by the Scots, who were at the head of the attack.*

Orlers, the Historian, in his explanation of a plan which he gives of the siege, with numerical references, says, No. 1. "Icy fasoient les soldats de Murray des mines et combattoient la ville."

It appears by those plans, that Prince Maurice imitated the Romans in the form of his camps, which were nearly square, so that they could be strongly fortified with little trouble; and instead of surrounding the besieged place with lines, he only erected forts from space to space, all round.

In 1598, the United Provinces being threatened with an invasion by a Spanish army, under the command of Don Francis Mendoza, Admiral of Arragon, Prince Maurice formed a

* Orlers.

line along the Wahal (the great branch of the Rhine,) all the way from Tiel to Gorcum. His army consisted of Germans, English, Scotch, French, Dutch, and Swiss; the troops of each nation having a separate post assigned them in an extent of twenty-four miles. The Scots were posted in the island of Voom, the English at Haften. Mendoza having received intelligence, that the Alps were less covered with snow than usual, whence he judged that the waters of the Rhine, which flow from those mountains, would not rise so high as to prevent his cantoning in the island of Bommel, formed the project of besieging that place, and began by attacking the island of Voom, which was so well defended by the Scots, that he was forced to give up the enterprize; but while he was employed there, Prince Maurice had time to augment the fortifications of Bommel, and on that occasion invented what has ever since been the first great obstacle in the attack of fortified places, the glacis and covered way. From his intrenched camp he obstructed the operations of the besiegers, and without risking a general engagement, forced them to retire.

In one of the actions under the walls, Murray, the Scotch commander, was killed by a cannon ball.

In the year 1599, the States General armed a powerful fleet against Spain, under the command of Admiral Van der Does, who took the town of Allagona. Prince Maurice sent his cousin, Count William of Nassau, Governor of Friseland, to attack the towns of Deutecum and Schuylenbourg, which he took. The Prince himself took the town of Wachtendonck, in that part of Gelderland now belonging to the King of Prussia, and began the next campaign, early in 1600, by the siege of Fort St. Andrew, at the confluence of the Wahal and the Meuse, a place of great importance, which capitulated after a siege of two months. Orlers has a plan, describing how the different troops were posted in the attack, at the head of which were the Scots; the name of their commander upon that occasion is not mentioned.

The reduction of Fort St. Andrew leaving the States General nothing to fear in their own country, they resolved, by the advice of Prince Maurice, to transport their army into the Province of Flanders, where the town of Ostend was blocked up by the Spaniards. For this purpose they equipped about two thousand ships in the ports of Holland and Zealand, and the army sailing up the Scheld, landed before Fort Philippine, which
was

was immediately taken. The Prince proceeded from thence towards Nieuport, and on the downs near that place, engaged the Spaniards, commanded by the Archduke Albert of Austria, and gained a complete victory. Early in the morning a detachment was sent, under the command of Count Ernest of Nassau, to take possession of some bridges on which the enemy must pass, in their way to the downs; but, as Orlers relates, who was himself present, ‘ the enemy had, before the arrival of Count Ernest, seized the bridges, and the greatest part of them were already past, so that it was impossible, with so small a number, to stop their progress towards the downs, those regiments finding themselves engaged with the enemy, and too weak to resist their whole army, after having bravely defended themselves like good soldiers, were at length forced to give way, the whole loss having fallen on the Scots*, as well on their chiefs and captains as on the common soldiers, in so much that eight hundred of them remained on the field, amongst whom were eleven Captains, and many Lieutenants and other Officers.’

Notwithstanding this great disadvantage, Prince Maurice entirely routed the Spanish army, seven thousand of whom were killed.

* Orlers, in his History, entitled *Lauriers de Nassau*, page 219.

In Summer 1601, the Archduke Albert began the famous siege of Ostend, the garrison of which, consisting only of twenty-one companies, was commanded first by Colonel Van der Noot; but being soon reinforced by twenty companies of English, and ten of Dutch, Sir Francis Vere, the English General, took the command. The besiegers being still at a distance, the garrison strengthened the fortifications with new works, one of which was called Schottenberg, *the Hill of the Scots*. Sir Francis Vere having called a Council of War, it was resolved, because of the weakness of the garrison, to destroy, and abandon all the outworks, and even to leave the under rampart, or *fausse braïe*, without defence. But a Captain of the Scots, named Sinclair, undertook the defence of part of the *fausse braïe* of his own accord, without the General's knowledge, and a reinforcement of five companies arriving soon after from Zealand, the destruction of the outworks was countermanded.

When the troops first in garrison had defended the place six months, the States sent fresh troops to relieve them, under the command of Frederick van Dorp, as Governor, and William Edmond, or Edmonstone, Colonel of the Scots, with the Colonels Harbaing, Marguette, Barendrecht, Van Dort,

Dort, and Dumourville. This new garrison repaired and improved the fortifications. Sir Francis Vere went to pass some time in England. During the first twenty months, the number of cannon balls fired was computed at two hundred and fifty thousand, of from thirty to fifty pound weight.

In Summer 1703, the Marquis Ambrosio Spínola, who had hitherto known the art of war only by theory, but proved on all occasions an excellent General, took the command of the besieging army. He engaged his own immense riches to be employed in the siege, in case of need. He drew to his camp the best engineers in Europe, and the attack was carried on with greater vigour than ever. So obstinate, however, was the defence, that the unremitted exertions of fourteen months succeeded no further than in gaining the outworks; and when the Spaniards had got possession of part of the capital rampart, they found a new rampart opposed to them, which the garrison had made during the siege, and within that second rampart a third, forming a kind of citadel, which they called the New Troy. But the States General, taking into consideration, that further resistance could be to no purpose, as the place must yield at last, and was already become an heap of ruins, sent orders to their Governor to capitulate.

capitulate. Articles were accordingly agreed upon, and the garrison marched out with arms, ammunition, and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying, after having held out three years and three months. In the order of march, the Scotch and English troops, both belonging to the same Sovereign, since the accession of King James the Sixth to the throne of England in 1603, formed one body, and composed the rear guard.

According to a memorial found in the pocket of an officer of Spinola's suite, after he was killed, the number of the slain on the side of the Spaniards amounted in all to seventy-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-one men. The loss on the part of the States was not less than fifty thousand. When the remaining garrison, which consisted of only three thousand men, arrived at Sluice in Flanders, Prince Maurice received them with the pomp of a triumph; and both officers and private men were promoted, or otherwise rewarded.

During the siege of Ostend, Prince Maurice took the town of Grave by surrender. Part of the British troops were present, under the command of Horatio Vere.

Sluice

Sluice in Flanders, was likewise besieged by Prince Maurice, and taken about a month before the surrender of Ostend. It is acknowledged by a cotemporary Dutch Historian, that the enterprize must have failed, but for the valour of two Scotch companies ; for two thousand men having been detached from before Ostend, and embarked in sloops and galleys, to take possession of the district called Cassant, which is separated from Sluice by a small arm of the sea, six hundred of them had already made good their landing, before the alarm reached the two Scotch companies. These immediately marched against them, and attacked them with such vigour, that they were routed, and forced to take refuge in their ships, some of which were sunk, by being over-loaded in the confusion of their flight.

After the siege of the Grave, in 1702, a select body of horse and foot was sent to over-run the enemy's country, as far as the Dutchy of Luxembourg, under the command of Count Louis of Nassau. Of the infantry, two hundred were French, two hundred English, two hundred Scotch, two hundred Germans, and two hundred from the Netherlands. The number of cavalry amounted to thirty-three Cornets, or troops.

This

This small body made a course so far as the town of Luxembourg, and the Ardenne Forest, (that is, above a hundred miles from their own frontier) raising contributions, and carrying off prisoners every where, and returned within a month to Nymeguen, whence they had set out. Amongst the prisoners taken was the Abbot of St. Hubert, with a great many Nobles, subjects of Spain, who were all ransomed soon after.

In August 1604, Prince Maurice having repulsed Spinola, who made an attempt to raise the siege of Sluice in Flanders, the Governor immediately surrendered, having held out three months.

From that time nothing memorable happened until the year 1607, when the Dutch fleet, commanded by Admiral Heemskerke, gained a great victory over that of Spain, before Gibraltar; and in the year 1609, a truce of twelve years was concluded betwixt the King of Spain and the States General, the first article of which was, that the Archduke Albert and the Archdutchess Isabella declared, both in their own name and in the name of His Catholic Majesty, that they treated
 ‘ with the said Lords States General of the United
 ‘ Provinces, in quality of, and as holding them to
 ‘ be free Countries, Provinces and States, over
 ‘ which they pretended nothing.’

In

In the year 1621, the truce being expired, the war was renewed, and began with the siege of Juliers, by the Spanish General Spinola, who, having drained the ditches, and blocked up the town, forced the Dutch garrison to surrender, after having held out five months. The Spaniards afterwards made an attempt upon Sluice in Flanders, and the island of Cazant, but were obliged to retire with great loss.

Spinola next laid a plan for taking Bergen-op-zoom, which important conquest would open a passage to the islands of Zealand and Fort Lillo, and consequently would open the Scheld to Antwerp. To cover this design, he began by sending into the Dutchy of Cleves the Count of Bergen, who took Goch. Prince Maurice, in order to defend the threatened frontier, withdrew the greatest part of the garrison of Bergen-op-zoom, Spinola, finding his stratagem succeed, sent Louis de Velasco to attack Steenebergen, which immediately surrendered; but the attack of that place unveiling the design of the Spanish General, the Prince of Orange sent a considerable body of troops to Bergen-op-zoom, under the command of Henderson, a Scotch Colonel. Spinola came in person to the siege, but so many vigorous sallies were made by the garrison, that after losing near

D

four

four months time, and twelve thousand men, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. In one great sally of four thousand foot and four companies of horse, Colonel Henderson, who commanded, was killed.

In the year 1629, King James sent to the assistance of the Dutch Republic, four English regiments, the Colonels of which were Henry Vere Earl of Oxford, Thomas Wrothesley Earl of Southampton, Fulke Greville Lord Willoughby-de-Broke, and Sir ——— Barclay.

Maurice Prince of Orange died in 1625, and was succeeded by his brother, Prince Frederick Henry, whose great abilities, both as a General and as a Statesman, proved to be such, that the same soul seemed still to animate the affairs of the Republic.

His first military exploits were the sieges of Goch, Oldenzeel, Laag, and Groll, all which places he took. Spinola had neglected nothing to fortify Groll, which was defended by a strong garrison. In 1628, Prince Frederick Henry surrounded his camp with such lines, that a Spanish army, commanded by Matthias van Dulken, an able General, attempted in vain to
raise

raise the siege. One of the works of those lines not yet finished, being attacked by the Spaniards, a sharp action ensued*; but they were at length repulsed by some companies of Scots, who were there on guard.

In 1629, the Prince of Orange undertook the siege of Bois-le-duc, which had hitherto been considered as impregnable. His Memoirs mention all the regiments of which his army then consisted, when encamped on the Heath of Mook, near Nymeguen. In the main body were the three regiments of the Scotch Brigade, the Colonels of which were Bruce, Halkett†, and Buccleugh‡. In the rear-guard were the four English regiments, whose Colonels were Vere, Cecil, Morgan, and Harwood.

The Prince began the operations of the siege by changing the course of the rivers Dommel and Aa, which supply the inundations round the town. He then so fortified his lines, both of circumvallation and countervallation, that neither

* Memoirs of Frederick Henry.

† Ancestor of Colonel Frederick Halkett, now of the Scotch Brigade, whose family have long served with distinction in that corps.

‡ Walter Scot Earl of Buccleugh, whose father, Walter, Lord Scot of Buccleugh, had taken over one of the regiments of the Scotch Brigade, when they were first employed in the Netherlands.

the attacks of the army from without, nor the sallies of the besieged, were of any effect. Meantime the Province of Gelderland was invaded at once by a Spanish army, under the Count of Bergen, and by an army of the Imperialists, commanded by Count Montecuculi. The States General sent to the Prince, to leave the siege of Bois-le-duc, and come to the defence of the Provinces.

The Prince convinced them, that the consequences of raising the siege would be still more fatal than what they dreaded, and gave them to understand, that they should soon have nothing to fear from the invading armies. He had formed the project of surprizing the town of Wesel, where those armies had their magazines of ammunition and provisions, having received intelligence that the garrison of the place was weak, and the discipline slack. The success of the enterprize was such as he had promised himself; the town was taken, and the whole garrison made prisoners. This unexpected event entirely changed the face of affairs; the Imperial and Spanish Generals found it necessary to retire immediately from the territories of the Republic, and the news of their retreat hastened the reduction of Bois-le-duc, which town, losing all hopes of being relieved,

sur-

surrendered the 15th of September, 1629, after a vigorous defence of near five months.

This reduction of Bois-le-duc, followed by that of Burich, and of the Forts Ysselbourg and Ringelberg, secured and extended the frontier. The Prince of Orange sent a body of troops beyond the Rhine, under the command of Count William of Nassau, who took Duisbourg, Koersert, Steel, Werle, Angeroort, and several places of less note in the countries of Cleves, La Marck, and Bergen. The Spanish garrisons of those places had been so much struck with the reduction of Wesel and Bois-le-duc, that they easily surrendered. Those brilliant successes occasioned so much the more joy to the inhabitants of the United Netherlands, that they had lately been exposed to the greatest danger. This invasion of the enemy was their last effort against the United Provinces. The Spaniards, having been foiled in the most favourable opportunity that had offered since the time of the Duke of Alba, lost for ever the hopes of re-conquering that country.

While Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, in the year 1632, delivered from oppression the Protestants of Germany, Frederick Henry Prince of Orange supported the same cause with equal success

cess in the Netherlands. In his army, which, at the opening of the campaign, was assembled on the Mooken Heath, near Nymeguen, were seven British regiments, four English and three Scotch. The Prince took Venlo, Straalen, Ruremonde, and Sittart : then laid siege to Maestricht. From the time that the Spaniards had retaken that city in 1529, they had greatly augmented its fortifications. The garrison was strong, and well commanded. Before the Prince had finished his lines, three several armies approached to relieve the place : one commanded by Don Gonsalves de Corduba, another by the Marquis de St. Croix, the third by Count Pappenheim. The garrison made several vigorous sallies, in one of which two of the English Colonels were killed, Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, and Colonel Harwood. This Earl of Oxford had succeeded in the command to his kinsman, Henry Earl of Oxford, already mentioned, who was sent over by King James in 1624, and had been killed the ensuing year at the siege of Breda. Robert was the father of Aubrey, the 20th and last Earl of Oxford of the House of Vere, who was the first Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards, commonly called the Oxford Blues.

Count Pappenheim attacked the Prince of Orange's lines before Maestricht with great vigour,
but

but was repulsed. He made the same attempt with great fury a second time, and with no better success, upon which he retired. The besieged, losing all hopes of succour, surrendered the place on the same conditions that had been granted to Ruremonde and Venlo. This important conquest was soon followed by that of the Dutchy of Limbourg, with the country of Outre-meuse; and the campaign was terminated by the taking of Orsoy.

In 1634, the Spaniards besieged Maestricht, which Frederick Henry delivered, by laying siege to Breda, which enterprize he was in his turn obliged to abandon.

In 1635, France, then governed by Cardinal Richelieu, came to an open rupture with Spain, and sent an army into the Netherlands to co-operate with that of the United Provinces. This army, commanded by Marechals Chatillon and Brezé, took the field early in the Spring, and had already gained a battle before the Dutch army was in motion, to the great mortification of the Prince of Orange, who was obliged to wait the slow determinations of the Senates of all the towns of which the Republic consists.

The battle was fought at Avein, in the Dutchy of Luxembourg, where Prince Thomas of Savoy,
who

who commanded the Spanish army, confiding in the strength of the ground, risked an engagement with superior numbers, and was totally defeated. Prince Frederick Henry marched with the Dutch army from Nymeguen, where was the general rendezvous, and joined the French army between Maestricht and Liege, nine days after the battle of Avein. The two Marechals of France came to meet him, having orders to offer him the chief command, with the title of *Lieutenant General du Roi*.

The first object of the combined army was to draw that of Spain to a general engagement ; but the Cardinal Infanto, who commanded it, wisely retired with his inferior forces under the cannon of Louvain, after having thrown succours into the most important places.

The disposition of the combined army when near Louvain, is thus described in Prince Frederick Henry's Memoirs. The left wing, which seems to be mentioned first, as having formed, in the order of march, the van-guard, and being next the enemy, consisted of all the cavalry, nine thousand in number, and next to them the Scotch Brigade : then the Germans in a wood. The right wing, or rear-guard, consisted of the four English
regiments,

regiments, having a precipice on their right, and a hollow way along their front, which sufficiently explains why the whole cavalry were on the other wing. The question of rank (which in military affairs is a serious matter) seems to have been decided betwixt the English and Scotch by the antiquity of the regiments; but as Royal troops, both always ranked before the troops of the United Provinces, or those belonging to German Princes; which right never was contested with regard to the Scotch Brigade until the year 1783.

The combined army took several little towns, and amongst others, that of Tirlemont, the garrison of which attempted to defend it, although unfortified. The taking of that inconsiderable place by storm, was a source of great disasters to the conquerors; for the French troops could not be restrained by their commanders from exceeding that severity which the law of nations allows in the case of towns that obstinately refuse to surrender, when it is no longer possible to defend them: they committed the greatest excesses of cruelty and brutality*.—The people of the Spanish
Netherlands

* That race of the inhabitants of France which furnished the private soldiers, was ever intractable, averse to discipline, and prone to cruelty. Those of that race were the tenants, or descendants of tenants of the superior class, which not only included all the families that held lands by military tenure, but the descendants of those families, how great soever

Netherlands now rose in arms on all sides, to defend their lives, property, and privileges, which had ever been in perfect security while there were no other armies in their country but those of the Princes of Orange, so great was the order and discipline of those armies. In the great City of Louvain, which was soon after besieged by the combined army, not only the Burghers, but the Students of the University (whose number generally amounts to ten thousand) became soldiers. So vigorous a resistance was made, that the armies were obliged to raise the siege for want of provisions; the convoys of the French army having been cut off by a body of Croats whom Piccolomini had brought from Germany.

The Spaniards, to make a diversion, entered Gelderland, having taken by surprize the fort of Shenck, by which they opened a passage into that country. On receiving this intelligence, the Prince of Orange flew to the defence of Gelderland. The Spaniards took Gennep and Goch, in the Dutchy of Cleves, and retook the town

their numbers might be. These were the Noblesse of France, the far greatest part of whom having very small fortunes, the immunities they enjoyed contributed considerably to their subsistence, and served as a compensation for their being excluded from all lucrative professions, and devoted to the defence of the kingdom. Those two races of the inhabitants of France were as entirely different from each other as any two nations can be.

and

and Castle of Limbourg. They even made inroads into Picardie and Champaign, where they raised contributions.

After having suffered the greatest distresses, the combined armies went into winter-quarters. That of France was cantoned in the district of Betuwe. Its numbers were greatly diminished, first from want of provisions, afterwards by sickness. The miserable remains of so fine an army received orders to embark at Rotterdam for France; but being detained by contrary winds for several months, the hospitals of Holland were filled with French soldiers. At length the few that remained were transported to Normandy.

In the year 1637, while the French made a great diversion on the frontier of the Netherlands, and were taking Landrecy, Ivoy, Damvilliers, Maubeuge, and La Capelle, Prince Frederick Henry assembled a great number of transports, to fall upon Dunkirk. But contrary winds, which prevented his fleet from sailing, having given the Spaniards time to make the requisite preparations for its defence, the Prince took a sudden and unexpected resolution: he passed over with his troops to Bergen-op-zoom, and a second time laid siege to Breda. According to his usual rule, he

fortified his lines so well, that the Cardinal Infanto, who repaired with a Spanish army to succour the place, found it would be in vain to attack them; and after a siege of four months, the garrison surrendered. The acquisition of Breda, which, with the country round it, is the property of the Prince of Orange, secured the territories of the States General against the incursions of the Spaniards, and restored the navigation of the Wahal, the Meuse, and the mouths of the Scheld.

In the year 1638, a secret expedition was concerted betwixt Frederick Henry and Count d'Estades, the French Ambassador, for the taking of Antwerp. It was necessary, in the first place, to get possession of the Flanders side of the Scheld, to prevent the enemy from succouring the town either with troops or provisions; to effectuate this, there were only two means to chuse; the first, to go in boats, and land upon the dike betwixt Fort St. Mary and the Flanders head; the second, to pass through the inundations of the island of Doel, to the dike of Fort Calloo. The first was found impracticable for several reasons, one of which was the impossibility of approaching the dike with such a fleet of boats, without being discovered. The other plan, although very difficult, was judged to be more practicable. The Prince therefore

therefore ordered Count William of Nassau, with six thousand men, upon this expedition. Those troops were ‘ part of the three Scotch regiments of Balfour, Sandilands, and Hammond, of the three German regiments of Count Henry, of Eerenryter, and his own, a Walloon regiment, and two national Dutch, those of Brederode and North Holland, with six half cannons* and twelve field pieces†.’

Prince Frederick Henry himself marched towards Bergen-op-zoom with the rest of the army, which consisted of the four English regiments, the German regiment of Count Solms, five French regiments, Beverweert’s regiment, and twenty-seven independent companies of national Dutch, with all the cavalry.

Count William met with very great difficulties, the water of the inundations being much deeper than had been represented, and the bottom almost a mire. The troops were obliged to wade six or seven miles through those inundations, before they reached Fort Calloo; ‘ but the soldiers having overcome all those difficulties by their labour, patience and valour,’ the fort was taken.

* Half cannons were twenty-four pounders.

† Memoirs of Frederick Henry.

Count William then following his own ideas, instead of obeying the orders he had received from the Prince of Orange, the enterprize failed. After waiting long at Calloo, instead of immediately advancing, he was imposed upon by false intelligence of the approach of a great body of the enemy, and ordered a precipitate retreat, of which the Marquis of Lerda, who commanded the Spaniards, taking advantage, attacked Count William's troops, and killed upwards of two thousand, amongst whom was Count Maurice, his only son, a youth of great hopes.

In the year 1639, the Dutch fleet, commanded by Admiral Tromp, gained a great victory over that of Spain, in the English Downs.

The States General sent an Embassy to London in the year 1640, to ask the Princess Mary, daughter of King Charles I. in marriage for Prince William, eldest son of the Prince of Orange. The first overture had been made in England by the Queen Dowager of France (relict of Henry IV.) who had been in Holland, soliciting the mediation of the States General to reconcile her with her son*

* That Prince, who had given many proofs of just and honourable sentiments upon other occasions, yet were he to be judged of by his behaviour to his mother, must pass for a wicked tyrant. Some Historians attempt to vindicate him, by throwing the blame upon Cardinal Richelieu.

Louis

Louis XIII. and had afterwards gone over to England to see the Queen her daughter. The consent of King Charles having been obtained, the young Prince came over to London, where the marriage was solemnized.

Admiral Tromp attempted in vain to block up the port of Dunkirk, which being full of privateers, was extremely hurtful to the trade of Holland. Frederick Henry was equally unfortunate by land, although the French made an advantageous diversion, by besieging Arras, which they took. He penetrated very far into the enemy's country, and attempted to take Bruges and Hulst, but without success.

The operations of the next campaign, in 1641, having been concerted betwixt Prince Frederick Henry and the French Ambassador, it was resolved that the Prince should advance to the Canal of Bruges, to favour the conquest of the town of Aire, which the French were to besiege. But both in this, and in the ensuing campaign, the States were so slow in providing the necessary supplies, that the Prince could not take the field, until it was too late to avail himself of circumstances; so that all the success of the first was nothing more than the taking of Gennep, an important

portant fortress at the confluence of the Meuse and the Niers; and in the second, the Prince of Orange was obliged to content himself with having prevented a junction between the Spanish army and that of the Imperialists.

In 1642, the Queen of Great Britain conducted her daughter, the young Princess of Orange, to Holland, bringing with her the most precious jewels of the Crown, which she pledged or sold, to purchase military stores for the King her husband, the great Rebellion against King Charles the First being then begun.

The Queen went to visit Prince Frederick Henry's Camp, which was in a great plain near the island of Voorn. Her reception there is particularly described in the Prince's Memoirs. The infantry was drawn up in three lines, at the distance of a hundred yards from each other; the cavalry in the rear of the third line of infantry. The Queen passed along each line in her coach, the Prince of Orange accompanying her on horseback, and telling her the names of the Colonels and Officers, as they dropt their pikes and colours to salute her. Near one half of the infantry being British and French, saw in her Majesty, those, their own Queen, and these, their late heroic Monarch's

narch's daughter. After passing along the front of all the lines, the Queen stood in a tent while the whole army passed in review.

In the year 1693, the French army, commanded by the Duke of Enguien, afterwards known by the name of the great Condé, having totally defeated the Spanish army near Rocroy, the Prince of Orange, to co-operate with the Allies, kept the Dutch forces in Flanders, which prevented the Spaniards from weakening their garrisons on that side to reinforce the troops they still had in the field. The ruins of the army that had been routed at Rocroy, retired to the passage of Fort Nassau, where was another Spanish army, commanded by Don Andrea Cantelmo. The Prince of Orange thought the circumstances favourable for making an attempt upon Hulst, but was obliged to give up that project. The young Prince of Orange, afterwards William II. then only seventeen years of age, gave the first proof of his military genius, in defeating a Spanish detachment, which had been drawn into an ambuscade.

In the year 1644, Prince Frederick Henry, availing himself of a diversion made by the Duke of Orleans, who besieged Gravelines with a French
F army,

army, transported his army by sea to the coast of Flanders, and laid siege to Sas-van-Ghent. The first operation was the passage of the Lys, to which the troops advanced in the following order*. The Prince of Orange's Horse Guards; the three regiments of the Scotch Brigade, whose Colonels were Erskine, Kirkpatrick, and Balfour; four French regiments, the Colonels of which were Hauterive, d'Estrades, Douchant, and Coligny; four English regiments, commanded by Craven, Herbert, Goring, and Cromwell. The national Dutch regiment of Count Hoorn, and nine regiments of horse in the rear.

During the construction of a bridge of boats over the Lys, ' Colonel Erskine, not having the
' patience to wait till it should be finished, past
' upon the bridge of reeds with his regiment,
' and seeing some troops of the enemy near a fort
' named St. Angel, marched up to them; they
' put on the appearance of waiting an engage-
' ment, but upon seeing, that instead of halting
' he still advanced against them, they retired*.
' Erskine pursued them, took the fort, killed
' some, and made prisoners of the rest, whom he
' sent to the Prince. The bridge being finished,

* Memoirs of Prince Frederick Henry.

• the Prince led over the whole army, and drew
 • them up in order of battle.’

After taking several other forts in the neighbourhood of Sas-van-Ghent, the Prince laid siege to that place, and began by fortifying his lines, which extended from Asseneeden, where the English regiments were posted, to Selsaten, which was the quarter of the Scots. By the description of those lines, they must have resembled the out-works of a fortified town. Don Francisco de Melo, at the head of a numerous Spanish army, pitched his camp at Sasselaer, about a league from that of the besiegers, but after several fruitless attacks, found it impossible to save Sas-van-Ghent, which was taken in his sight, after five weeks siege, although the Governor, Don Andrea de Parado, made a vigorous defence.

Sas-van-Ghent appeared to the States a fortress of such consequence, that they immediately ordered its fortifications to be repaired and augmented. An acquisition of such importance in the heart of the enemy's country, led the Prince of Orange to more extensive views for the aggrandizement of the Republic. He proposed that the next campaign should be opened early, and that an augmentation of ten thousand men should be

added to the army; not only to attack the enemy with greater vigour, but to deprive the Spaniards of some German troops which they endeavoured to draw into their pay, but whose Officers wished nothing so much as to serve under His Highness. The States General readily assented to a plan for making the Republic so great as to be quite an independent State, and upon equal terms with the neighbouring Powers. But in the mercantile Provinces of Holland and Zealand, the interest of individuals* prevailed over the public good. Those Provinces obstinately opposed the measure. It was consequently late in the season of 1645 before the Prince could take the field. His Allies the French, had already begun the campaign,

* While Prince Frederick Henry carried on his expedition for taking Antwerp in 1638, a Merchant of Amsterdam, named Byland, sent to the enemy four great ships loaded with gunpowder, musquets, and spears. On being accused by the Prince, he was arrested, and brought before the Burghomasters of Amsterdam; but so far from being in the least disconcerted, he declared impudently, that the 'Burghers of Amsterdam are free to trade every where; that he could name a hundred who are Factors for the Merchants of Antwerp, and that he is one of the number; that Commerce must suffer no interruption, and that if it were necessary to pass through Hell in pursuit of gain, he would risk to burn his sails.' Count d'Estrades, then Ambassador of France at the Hague, who gives the relation, adds, that from this fine defence, Byland was acquitted, upon the pretext that he was only a Factor for the Merchants of Antwerp; and that while the Prince was telling this to him (the Ambassador) his anger broke out to such a degree, that knocking his hat upon the table, he said, 'Vous voyez la patience qu'il faut avoir avec ces Brutaux de Marchands je n'ay pas de plus grands ennemis que la ville d'Amsterdam. Mais si j'ai une fois Anvers je les mettrai si bas qu'ils ne s'en releveront jamais.'

under

under the Duke of Orleans. They took Link, Bourbourg, Bethune, St. Venant, and Armentieres. Then the Marechals de Gassion and de Rantzau, to whom the Duke of Orleans had left the command, advanced to the Canal betwixt Ghent and Bruges, to surprize the Duke of Lorraine, who narrowly escaped falling into their hands. There the French and Dutch armies joined, and the Prince of Orange held a Council with the two Marechals, to engage them to favour a project he had formed, of attempting a second time to take Antwerp. The two armies passed the Lys, and marched towards the Little Scheld.—On that occasion, the difference of the discipline of the two armies was very conspicuous*. The troops commanded by Prince Frederick Henry marching at all times in order, and not a man stirring out of his rank; the French, when they thought no enemy was near, constantly straggling from their colours, to maraude and plunder†.

While

* Cerisier tableau de l'Hist. gen. des Prov. Un.

† The want of discipline of the French armies, is attributed by Saxe, in his Memoirs, chiefly to the bad constitution of the regiments, by which Officers without talents, knowledge, or experience, were raised above persons possessed of all the three. He allows, that when Turenne had the chief command of the French armies, they were the best disciplined of any in Europe, but observes, that no Officer could be promoted then, who had not served long in inferior ranks, so as to know the detail of the service, and the character of those whom he was to command. ' Turenne himself, says the illustrious writer, had carried a musquet in Holland. To

' be

While the armies were passing the small branch of the Scheld, intelligence came that the Spanish army, commanded by the Duke of Lorraine, with the Generals Beck and Piccolomini, prepared to attack them. Frederick Henry then proposed to the French Generals to remain five or six days in that position, to keep the enemy in check, while he should proceed to invest Antwerp. The Marshals answered, that they could not agree to the proposal, without abandoning to the enemy the conquests they had made along the Lys; but they promised to halt one day longer, until the army of the States should pass the Great Scheld. They accordingly assisted it in passing that river, notwithstanding the opposition of General Beck, who lost a great number of men in attempting to prevent the passage, and was himself wounded. The Prince of Orange, obliged to give up the project of besieging Antwerp, resolved to make some amends, in attacking Hulst, to which he laid siege in the beginning of October, and the season being so far advanced, found it necessary to carry on the operations with the greatest vigour.

‘ be able to command men, continues he, it is requisite to have known
 ‘ them beforehand, to have seen them in different situations, and to be
 ‘ able, by a nice scrutiny of the most minute operations of their mind, to
 ‘ distinguish their talents, and employ them upon proper occasions.’—Turenne, whose mother, Elizabeth of Nassau, Dutchess of Bouillon, was a daughter of William I. Prince of Orange, had served in Holland under his uncles, Prince Maurice and Prince Frederick Henry.

Finding,

Finding, that by carrying on the attack along the dike which goes from St. Jean de Stein to the counterscarp at the gate towards Ghent, too much time would be lost, he directed approaches, which in two days reached the counterscarp, to the point which he had pitched upon for passing the ditch, and erected three batteries, which flanked that part of the ditch where the bridge was to be thrown over. The batteries being ready, he gave orders to Colonel Kirkpatrick (of the Scotch Brigade), who commanded the guard, that an hour before break of day he should throw over a bridge of reeds, and make a hundred men pass upon it, to take post at the foot of the rampart, which succeeded so well, that an hour before day-light, the Prince coming to visit the works, found, that ‘ by the diligence of the Colonel, and the valour
 ‘ of the soldiers*, the bridge was already finished,
 ‘ and the troops past over.’ A few days afterwards the town surrendered, having held out a month; and thus fell into the hands of the States, a place looked upon as the key of Flanders and Brabant, which made the plan of adding Antwerp to the Republic easy to be executed; but the Province of Holland was averse to that plan, for which Historians assign different reasons. The most probable of these, seems to be the great in-

* Memoirs of Prince Frederick Henry.

fluence of Amsterdam, the merchants of which city thought, that although the Republic in general must gain greatly by such an acquisition, their private interest would suffer by the restoration of Antwerp to its former flourishing state. The great debt of the Republic furnished a specious reason for sending Ambassadors to the Congress of Munster to treat of a Peace.

Yet Prince Frederick Henry, in 1646, prevailed upon the States General to pursue his favourite plan of taking Antwerp, in which enterprize the Court of France engaged to co-operate. The great Condé, then Duke of Enguien, took Dunkirk in fifteen days siege: but the Provinces of Holland and Zealand thwarted the Prince of Orange's operations, which proved unsuccessful; owing likewise in some degree perhaps, to his own bad state of health. He continued to decay for some months, and died the 14th of March, 1647, having had the satisfaction to see the only Monarch who could oppose the freedom and sovereignty of the Republic, impatient to confirm it by a public and solemn sanction.

‘ Thus did Prince Frederick Henry finish the
 ‘ roof of that edifice of which his father had laid
 ‘ the foundation, and his brother built up the
 ‘ walls*.’

* Cerisier.

This

This triumph of the Dutch Republic over the greatest Power then in Europe, is to be attributed to the same cause with the conquest of a great part of the world by the people of one city. Almost all the nations whom the Romans conquered, were superior to themselves in numbers and in riches, not inferior in bravery, and many of them superior in strength of body. But, as the great Frederick says, in his Instructions to his Generals, the discipline of the Romans triumphed over the strength and numbers of all nations. That discipline, revived under a succession of excellent Commanders, raised the United Provinces from the lowest state of misery and oppression, into a powerful Republic.

After the Treaty of Munster, which was finally concluded in 1648, the States having no enemy to fear, made a great reduction of the land forces, but principally by diminishing the strength of the regiments, not by disbanding them. What became of the four English regiments which had been sent over twenty-three years before, we cannot ascertain; but the three Scotch, which had already subsisted between sixty and seventy years, continued standing. They and Dumbarton's Scotch regiment (now the Royal), then in the service of France, were a great resource for the

G

adherents

adherents of the Royal Family during the usurpation of Cromwell.

From the Treaty of Munster to the Invasion by Louis XIV. in 1672, the Dutch Republic was engaged in no land war; but the States General having acknowledged King Charles II. and the friends of the House of Orange, then nearly connected with that of Stuart, joining the British subjects in stirring up enemies to Cromwell, hostilities commenced between the new Republic of England and that of the Netherlands in the year 1652; during the course of which their fleets met in four engagements, with various success. The English Admirals were Blake and Ascough; those of the Dutch, Tromp and De Wit.

In 1653, King Charles offered to go in person on board the Dutch fleet, persuaded that many Captains of the English Navy would join their lawful Sovereign, which might pave the way to his Restoration. The people of Holland in general were greatly pleased with the proposal, particularly as they thought it would be the means of raising the young Prince of Orange, William III. then a child, to the situation which his forefathers had held. But the pensionary De Wit, and other enemies of that family to whom the Republic owed

owed its existence, opposed the King's proposal; the States General returned their thanks to His Majesty for the intended honour, and affected to praise the heroism and genius of his project, although circumstances did not permit that it should be then adopted.

Within the space of five months, seven battles were fought betwixt the English and Dutch fleets; that is, they were engaged on seven different days, but the first three are generally considered as one action, because neither fleet retired until the third day. After the last battle, in which the Dutch Admiral Tromp was killed, the English remained masters of the sea.

In the year 1654, Cromwell having insisted upon the exclusion of the infant Prince of Orange (afterwards King William) from the dignities which his forefathers had held in the Dutch Republic, the States General, swayed by the influence of the States of Holland, consented to that ungrateful and mean submission; at which the people of the Provinces in general, and the whole army, were so much incensed, that they would not join in the rejoicings made on occasion of the peace, and most of the soldiers refused to drink the wine that was distributed amongst them.

This was an afflicting period for the Scotch Brigade, who saw the grandson of their murdered King thus sacrificed to please the Usurper, while their then lawful Sovereign was obliged to wander in a state of exile.

But that affliction was soon changed into joy, by the Restoration in 1660. King Charles, upon receiving the news of the Revolution that had happened in England, came immediately from Brussels to Breda. The States General sent Deputies to congratulate the restored Monarch, and even the States of Holland intreated him to come into their Province. Although he might have some reason not to be quite pleased with them, yet he could not doubt of the sincerity of the people in general, or of the army, who shewed the same joy and affection as if they had all been his own subjects. On his arrival at the Hague, the States General and the States of the Province of Holland went in a body to wait upon His Majesty, who was pleased to return their visit in person. The States of Holland attended him to Scheveling, where he embarked for England.

The Princess of Orange considering the Restoration of the King her brother as a favourable moment, applied to the States General, and to
those

those of Holland, to annul the decree of exclusion that had past concerning her son. The States of Zealand consented, the first, and their example was soon followed by those of Holland, who declared that the decree of exclusion having been extorted from them by Cromwell, then Sovereign arbiter of the affairs of England, it must be considered as annulled by the Restoration of the lawful Sovereign.

The Princess, by her testament, made a little before her death, which happened in England in 1661, begged of the King her brother, to take the direction of her son's education, and to protect him with all the Royal Power. King Charles accepted of the offer, and settled matters accordingly with the Elector of Brandenburg, and with the Princess Dowager of Orange, who was to have the principal share in her grandson's education. This disobliged the States of Holland so much, that they refused to take any part whatever in the education of the young Prince, whence proceeded such a disagreement betwixt the King and them, that they never were on perfect good terms until the Prince of Orange was confirmed in the Stadtholdership.

Louis XIV. King of France, having without any reason whatever, in 1672, invaded the United
Provinces

Provinces with a great army, under the command of Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, three of the greatest Generals of last century, and having with a surprizing rapidity taken all the fortified towns in his way, his army was in possession of the Province of Utrecht, and had even past the confines of that of Holland.

In the general consternation which the rapid successes of so formidable an enemy occasioned throughout the Seven Provinces, the people naturally reflecting on the past prosperity of the Republic under the House of Orange, and on the distresses they had suffered ever since the death of William II. imputed the desperate state to which they were now reduced to the Magistrates who had excluded that Prince's son from the Government: they threatened those Magistrates with immediate destruction, unless they should instantly declare the Prince, Stadtholder and Captain General. The greatest enemies of the House of Orange were then obliged to yield to the Stadtholderian party, supported as it was by the whole Commonalty; and William III. then only twenty-two years of age, very soon shewed that he inherited both the military genius and the patriotism of his ancestors.

With

With such an army as that of the Republic was at the death of his father, the state of affairs would not have appeared so desperate, but twenty-two years of a bad military administration had totally changed it. In the disposal of employments, no regard had been paid to the qualifications of the person, but he who had most interest with the Burgomasters, however disqualified he might be for advancement, was sure of obtaining it, to the prejudice of Officers of the most promising talents. ‘ The States gave, says an Historian, the chief employments in their armies and garrisons to the sons of Burgomasters and Deputies of Cities; raw soldiers, fitter to be taught than to command*.’ A total decay of discipline was the natural consequence of that absurd management, and that decay of discipline brought the Republic to the brink of ruin; for, as the great judge of military affairs, whom we have already quoted, says in his Instructions to his Generals, ‘ The entire prosperity of every State rests upon the discipline of its army.’

What the Prince of Orange then did, is the more to be admired, that he had not had time to restore the army to its former state, such a change requiring years to accomplish; for a disorder pro-

* History of William Prince of Orange, published in 1688.

ceeding originally from a bad composition of Officers, requires a long time to eradicate. This disorder could not have prevailed so much in the Scotch regiments, because promotions in them depended chiefly upon their own Colonels. In the year 1673, we find those Colonels to have been Sir Alexander Colyear, Graham, and Mackay.

In the year 1674, King Charles having disbanded some new raised English regiments, many of the Captains persuaded their men to accompany them to Holland, where they entered the service of the States in the war against France. Major Bernardi, who was a Captain in Colonel Thomas Monk's regiment, (now the 5th of foot) relates, that on landing at the Briel in spring 1674, he there ' found twelve English Captains, ' with as many of their soldiers as such Captains ' could persuade to go over with them to serve the ' Dutch;' that he afterwards accompanied four of those Captains to the Prince of Orange's army, and that coming up with it two days before the battle of Seneff, he met with Sir Walter Vane, and many other English Volunteers, attending his Highness. At the siege of Grave were ten independent English companies, whereof the Prince of Orange gave the command to Hugh Mackay
(after-

(afterwards General) on the recommendation of his Adjutant General, Sir Alexander Colyear. Amongst the Captains of those companies, Bernardi mentions Sir Henry Bellasyse, and Thomas Monk; the first of whom was by the Prince of Orange appointed, in 1680, Colonel of an English regiment, which is now the 6th of the British line, and the second was the same year appointed Colonel of the regiment that is now the 5th.

In winter, 1674, three regiments were formed of the English subjects then in the pay of the States: one under the command of the Viscount Clare, one under Luke Lillington, and a third under Colonel Disney*.—Major General Sir Walter Vane (who was killed at the battle of Seneff,) had nearly concluded a treaty with the Prince of Orange and the States, for the formation of a body of English troops under his command. He is marked in the succession of Colonels as the first Colonel of the 6th regiment; but it appears by the Memoirs of Major Bernardi, and by those of Captain Carleton, who were both present at the battle of Seneff, that the 6th regiment was not yet formed at that time.

* Major Bernardi's History.

The Viscount Clare was soon after deprived of the command of his regiment, which the Prince disposed of to Sir John Fenwick.

At the siege of Maestricht, in 1676, were employed four of the British regiments in Dutch pay*, whose Colonels were Sir Alexander Colyear, Sir John Fenwick, Colonel Ralph Widdrington, who had succeeded to Colonel Disney, and Colonel Astley, who had succeeded to Colonel Lillington. A breach having been made in a detached bastion, it was stormed and taken; but having been abandoned soon after by a strange accident, the relation of which is too long to be here inserted, a detachment was selected out of the four British regiments, to storm it a second time; this attack succeeded, and the assailants maintained their ground, notwithstanding a furious sally of the French, and the inside of the work being twice blown up.

Marshal Schomberg advancing with a French army to relieve the place, and being come to Tongres, within a few leagues of Maestricht, the Prince of Orange found it necessary to raise the siege, in the course of which Colonel Widdring-

* Memoirs of Capt. Carleton, History of Major Bernardi, and History of William Prince of Orange, published in 1688.

ton and Colonel Doleman, who succeeded him in the command of the regiment, were both killed.

Sir John Fenwick having given up the command of his regiment* (now the 5th) from some disgust, the Prince of Orange disposed of it to Lieutenant Colonel Wisely.

In 1677, the French army, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, having laid siege to St. Omer, the Prince of Orange marched to the relief of that place, and engaged the French army near Cassel. In the left wing of the Dutch army was a new raised regiment, which falling into confusion, the disorder was communicated to the whole wing, and occasioned its defeat. The bad behaviour of two regiments of Marines, which were drawn up betwixt the Dutch Guards and the British Brigade, is likewise supposed to have been one of the causes which reduced the Prince of Orange to the necessity of ordering a retreat.

The campaign being ended, the Prince of Orange came over to England, where his marriage was concluded with the Princess Mary, daughter of his uncle the Duke of York. On his return to the Hague, King Charles sent along with him

* Bernardi's History, vide Succession of Colonels in the Army List.

Thomas Butler Earl of Ossory, eldest son of the Duke of Ormond, to command the six British regiments in the pay of the Dutch Republic. This gallant and accomplished Nobleman had served at sea, and was a Rear Admiral. He was likewise Chamberlain to Queen Catherine, and a Knight of the Garter. The Prince of Orange gave him one of the regiments of the British Brigade, which was then vacant by the death of Colonel Doleman (who had been killed at the siege of Maëstricht), and the command of the whole Brigade, with the rank of Major General.

In the year 1678 King Charles, finding that Lous XIV. would listen to no terms of peace, recalled the troops he had in the pay of France, which were Dumbarton's regiment, now the first of the British line, and a regiment of which the Duke of Monmouth was Colonel.

The King of France began the campaign very early in the spring, and entering Flanders, took Ghent and Ypres. A new Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Great Britain and the Dutch Republic; and the footing of the six British regiments in the pay of the Republic, was secured by a capitulation, signed on the part of Great Britain by the Earl of
Ossory,

Ossory, and on the part of the United Netherlands by the Prince of Orange. One of the Articles was, that the States General ' should send ' those regiments to be embarked for Great Britain, whenever the King should think proper to ' recall them*.'

An obvious reason offers for this capitulation having been entered into at that time. A few months before, when King Charles had recalled his troops out of France, they were sent to the most remote parts of the kingdom, and there disbanded, without any allowance for so long a journey, so that only a few of the private soldiers ever could get home to their own country.

The most memorable event of this year's campaign was the battle of St. Denis, near Mons, betwixt the Dutch army, commanded by the Prince of Orange, and that of France, under Marshal Luxembourg. Although the armies were drawn up in presence of each other, yet the nature of the ground permitted only a small part of them to be engaged. The behaviour of the six British regiments was such, that their Commander, the Earl of Ossory, received the thanks, not only of the States General, but those of the

* Capitulation in the Records of the States General.

King of Spain, in a letter under his own hand. The Author of the History of the Prince of Orange, published in 1688, says of Sir Alexander Colyear*, who was a General Officer, and Colonel of one of the Scotch regiments, that he advanced towards, ‘ the Abbey, and seconded by ‘ General Delwick, filed through the narrow passages, and sliding down the precipices with an ‘ invincible courage, drove the enemy from their ‘ lines.’—Captain Carleton, who was present, says in his Memoirs, ‘ the three English and three ‘ Scotch regiments under the command of the ‘ ever renowned Earl of Ossory, together with ‘ the Prince of Orange’s Guards, made their attack at a place called Cateau, where the French ‘ took their refuge among a parcel of hop-poles, ‘ but were soon beaten out with very great ‘ slaughter.’

The Duke of York, in a letter to his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, of July 1678, says, ‘ I am very glad you are so well satisfied with ‘ Lord Ossory and His Majesty’s subjects, and that ‘ they behaved themselves so well. I hope those ‘ that before this are come to you, will be no discredit to the nation.’—These last words relate

* Sir Alexander Robertson of Dalcabon, in Perthshire, who assumed the name of Colyear, and was the father of David Earl of Portmore.

to a body of seven thousand men which King Charles had sent over under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, to join the Prince of Orange, and which had landed at Ostend a little before the battle.

A Treaty of Peace having been concluded at Nymeguen a few days before the battle of St. Denis, the operations of war ceased for several years.

The Earl of Ossory dying of a fever at Whitehall in the summer of 1680, King Charles proposed to give the command of the British Brigade in Holland to George Douglas Earl of Dumbarton, whose regiment, the Scotch Royal, had been recalled from France, and not yet embodied in Britain; but the Earl being a Roman Catholic, the Prince of Orange remonstrated against his being appointed to the command; and it was given to Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney, who was at the same time the King's Minister at the Hague. The Prince gave him the regiment that was vacant by the death of Lord Ossory.

It appears, that during some stay which the Duke of Monmouth made in Holland, he had ingratiated

ingratiated himself so much with the Officers of the British regiments, that in the year 1684, when King James wrote to his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, to remove the Duke from Holland, he at the same time enjoined, that his adherents should be dismissed from the British regiments in the service of the Dutch, which was accordingly done; but the Prince took care to provide for those Officers in the troops of different German Princes. The King had at the same time intimated his intention of recalling Mr. Sidney, his Minister at the Hague, and Commander in Chief of the British regiments serving in Holland, in whose room he intended to appoint Mr. Skelton; but the Prince remonstrated against this, saying in his letter to the King, ‘ I hope your Majesty
 ‘ will not mortify me so far as to send any one
 ‘ here, with whom I cannot live in good intelli-
 ‘ gence*.’

Upon suspicion of the Duke of Monmouth’s intention to raise a Rebellion in England, and upon the landing of the Earl of Argyll in Scotland, King James recalled the Scotch regiments from Holland, as appears by his letters to the Prince of Orange.

* Sir John Dalrymple’s Memoirs.

His Majesty's first letter on that subject is dated the 22d of May* ; and in one of the 30th of June following, he mentions their being landed in England. ' Two days since I received yours ' by Mr. Bentinck, who has given me a full account of all you had charged him with ; and I ' take very kindly of you all the offers† you made ' me by him, and I make no doubt but, by ' God's help, your sending me the regiments I ' desired of you (the three Scotch being arrived ' this day at Gravesend,) to put a speedy end to ' this Rebellion.'

King James had a fortnight before wrote to the Prince, to send the three English regiments likewise. It is to be observed, that in those letters the King uses a quite different stile from that of his letters on the same subject three years after, for in these he claims the British regiments serving in Holland as his own troops, and refers to the Treaty by which the States were bound to let them go whenever they should be recalled.

In King James's letter of July 3d, 1685, His Majesty mentions one from the Prince, informing him, that the three English regiments were to be

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

† The Prince of Orange had offered to come over in person.

embarked by the beginning of the week, and adds,
 ‘ if they be but as good as the Scotch regiments
 ‘ which I saw this morning, I shall be doubly
 ‘ pleased; for as to those I have seen, there can-
 ‘ not be, I am sure, better men than they are; and
 ‘ they do truly look like old regiments, and one
 ‘ cannot be better pleased with them than I am*.’

Soon after the arrival of the Scotch regiments in England, the King promoted Colonel Hugh Mackay, who commanded them, to the rank of a Major General†.

After the Rebellion was quelled, King James wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, desiring, that as he kept Colonel Cannon in England, his regiment might be given to the Earl of Pembroke, with the chief command of all the six; being one upon whom he (the King) could entirely rely. It appears, however, that His Majesty changed his mind very soon after, and proposed that the Earl of Carlingford should have the command; for the Prince of Orange, in a letter to Mr. Bentinck,

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

† Hence it is evident, that the Officers of the Brigade serving in Holland, took rank in Britain according to the date of their Commissions, in whatever form or language they were written; for had it been considered as just that they should come after all Officers of the same rank in British pay, Colonel Mackay could have had no pretensions to the rank of Major General.

after

after observing, that as the Earl was a Catholic, his being appointed to the command of the six regiments would have very bad consequences, says, ‘ and as I was obliged, which no doubt you ‘ will remember, to represent the same thing to ‘ the late King, with regard to the Earl of Dum- ‘ barton; and as His Majesty had the goodness ‘ upon that, not to insist upon it any longer, I ‘ find myself forced to represent all this to the ‘ King, in hopes that His Majesty will have the ‘ same goodness, and that he will not wish me to ‘ do so great an injury to myself in this country, ‘ without bringing any advantage to him.’

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the King still insisted upon the appointment of the Earl of Carlingford, as appears by a letter from his Minister, Lord Sunderland, to the Prince of Orange, in which it is said, ‘ that when my Lord Dartmouth was proposed by the late King, the noise of the plot, and the clamour of the faction, was at the height, which is the reason his late Majesty pushed it no further, &c.’

In answer to this letter, the Prince wrote a second remonstrance, in which he says, ‘ I have
‘ only to beg you will humbly intreat His Majesty,
‘ on my part, to have the goodness not to insist
‘ upon

‘ upon this affair, and I will take it as a great
‘ favour.’

King James having discovered that the disposition of the Officers of the British Brigade serving in Holland, was not such as gave any reason to hope for assistance from them, either in establishing the Roman Catholic Religion, or in supporting Arbitrary Power, formed the project of transferring as great a part of them as possible from the pay of the Dutch Republic to that of France. M. de Barillon, the French Minister at the British Court, writes as follows on that subject to Louis XIV. ‘ The fact is, that the King of England is resolved to withdraw his troops that are
‘ in the service of the States General; he expects
‘ indeed, that a great part of the Officers and
‘ soldiers will remain in Holland, but also that a
‘ good part may return home, and principally the
‘ Catholics, and all those who are not entirely
‘ gained by the Prince of Orange. However desirable His Britannic Majesty may be to recall
‘ those troops, it is difficult for him to do it without having easy means of subsisting those who
‘ shall be recalled, and keeping them together in
‘ one body. His thought, therefore, is to propose to your Majesty the taking into your service a regiment of infantry, composed of the
‘ Officers

‘ Officers and soldiers to be recalled from Holland*, &c.’

‘ The reasons which oblige this Prince to make this proposal, are, that by this means there would be a new corps on foot, which would be better kept up, and better disciplined, than those which are in the country; that it would be a nursery to educate and form Catholic soldiers, who will not be informed of the dangerous maxims to Monarchy which are spread throughout all England, from which even the Catholics are not entirely exempt; that without this, it will be difficult for him to recall so soon the troops which are in Holland, he not being able to subsist them easily together, although he knows of how much consequence it is to him not to permit to exist any longer a corps of troops of his own subjects, the greatest number of whom are not in his interests, and would serve against him, if the occasion offered.’

Louis XIV. declined receiving into France the troops which should be recalled from Holland, but offered to maintain two thousand of them in England†.

* Letter dated October 13, 1687.

† Letter from M. Barillon to Louis XIV. 6th of Nov. 1687.

There

There are in King William's Cabinet, four letters from King James, concerning the recall of his troops from the Dutch service, the first of which is as follows :

‘ 17th Jan. 1688.

‘ I have charged my Envoy, Mons. d’Albeville, who will give you this letter, to give you an account, that I think it for my service to call for home the six regiments of my subjects which are under your command in the States’ service, and have written to the States to the same purpose, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as soon as may be, &c.’

In the second letter, 16th Feb. 1688, King James signifies his displeasure that any difficulty should be made in sending home his troops; in the third, he appeals to the Treaty made in 1678, betwixt Lord Ossory on the part of King Charles II. and the Prince of Orange on the part of the States General, saying, ‘ You will have seen before this gets to you, the copy of the capitulation you made with the late Lord Ossory, which is very home to this point.’

In the fourth, 15th March, 1688, he says,
‘ I did not expect to have had such an answer
‘ from

‘ from the States to the Memorial lately given in
 ‘ by my Envoy, especially when your influence is
 ‘ so great ; and sure it is the first instance, and I
 ‘ believe will be the last, where ever subjects were
 ‘ refused the liberty to return back, when de-
 ‘ manded, to serve their Prince.’

However, neither the States General nor the Prince of Orange imposed any constraint upon the Officers, but sent Deputies to all the garrisons where the regiments lay, to harangue them. Mackay, who had been promoted to the rank of Major General by King James, in 1685, when the Brigade was called over on the occasion of Monmouth's Rebellion, being now resolved to obey His Majesty's second recall, went to the Hague to take leave of the Prince of Orange and the States ; but being there let into the secret, as was supposed, of the intended Revolution, he changed his mind, and on his return to the regiment, gave the Officers plausible reasons for his having taken a contrary resolution. Out of the number of 290 Officers in the six regiments, only sixty resolved to obey the recall. The King sent a Royal yacht to transport them to England, with three months pay for their immediate subsistence ; and soon after ordered three regiments to be raised, to reinstate them in their respective ranks.

This

This is related by Major Bernardi, who was himself of the number, as a Captain in Colonel Monck's regiment, he being a native of England, though of a noble Italian family. He published his *Memoirs* in his own life time, in the year 1728.

The three regiments thus formed, were actually maintained at the expence of Louis XIV. as appears by a letter of M. de Barillon, of July 26, 1688, who writes, that he had given Lord Godolphin 93,440 livres, for the first two months pay of the three regiments.

The Scotch Brigade made a considerable part of the Armament with which the Prince of Orange sailed for England in October 1688. Sir John Dalrymple says, ' His army was composed of
' near four thousand cavalry, and about eleven
' thousand infantry, of the best troops of the
' Republic, with three hundred French Officers,
' Protestant Refugees. Of these troops the most
' formidable were the six British regiments in the
' service of the Dutch.

' The fleet was divided into three squadrons,
' on board of which were troops of different na-
' tions. The English and Scotch, commanded
' by General Mackay, a Scotchman of a noble
' family, sailed under the red flag.'

The

The first action in which any of them were engaged, was the battle of Gillikranky, where it is remarkable, that the Commanders on both sides, the Viscount Dundee and General Mackay, had been bred in the Scots Brigade; and General Cannon, who was Colonel of one of the regiments of the Brigade when they came over on the occasion of Monmouth's Rebellion, and whom King James kept in England, when he desired that his regiment might be given to the Earl of Pembroke, commanded the Highlanders after Lord Dundee was killed.

It appears, that the Scotch Grey dragoons, and the first, or Royal Regiment of foot, both served in Holland during King William's reign. In the year 1690, several regiments supposed to be still attached to King James, were sent to different ports to embark for Holland. Of that number were the Scotch Greys, and Dumbarton's regiment (now the Royal), which had been given by King William to the Duke of Schomberg. George Douglas Earl of Dumbarton, their gallant Commander, had offered to King James to go with his regiment alone, then consisting of five thousand men (three thousand of whom were present), and to engage the Prince of Orange's army soon after their landing; but the King re-

k
fused

fused to allow the lives of so many brave men to be sacrificed in an attempt which he thought could not possibly be decisive. The same regiment, and that of the Scotch Greys, on receiving orders to embark for Holland, both denied King William's authority*, as not having been acknowledged in Scotland, and with drums beating, colours flying, and four pieces of cannon, they marched off from Ipswich, the place of their intended embarkation, resolving to make their way to Scotland; but King William, with his usual military skill, took such measures as left them no resource but to lay down their arms. Upon their surrendering at discretion, he removed a few of the Officers, and sent the regiments to Holland, agreeably to his first intention.

After the battle of Gillikranky, and the establishment of King William's authority in Scotland, the Scotch Brigade was employed in Ireland, where the most vigorous efforts were made to restore King James. At the siege of Athlone, in 1691, a breach having been made in the rampart, the storming of the place was allotted to that Brigade, commanded by General Mackay.

* Sir J. Dalrymple says, that in private, King William could not help expressing his approbation of the conduct of those regiments.

The English side of the town was taken, but the other side, divided from the first by the River Shannon, remained in the possession of the enemy, commanded by General St. Ruth, who ordered the bridge to be broken down. A Council of War was then held, to determine the next operation. The English, German, French, Danish, and Dutch Generals, all agreed that the river should be past at the ford within the town. Mackay, the Scotch General, was alone of a contrary opinion, alledging that the river should be past in other places, and not in the face of a town and of an army. The first opinion, however, prevailed; yet the command of the passage was given to Mackay, at the head of the Scotch Brigade, which post of honour had been claimed by Tollemache, the English General. The passage was effected under a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry: the Irish, finding it impossible to defend the town, abandoned it, and withdrew to the army under St. Ruth.

At the battle of Agrim, likewise, the Scotch Brigade had the post of honour, being drawn up on the right of the first line, under the command of General Mackay, who displayed great military skill on that occasion; and he, as well as the body of troops he commanded, had a great share in the

reduction of Ireland, which was completed by the siege of Limerick. The Officers and soldiers of both English and Scotch regiments remarked with displeasure, that while Ginckel was honoured with the title of Earl of Athlone, and Rouvigny, a French refugee, with that of Lord Galway, no notice was taken of Tollemache and Mackay, because they were not foreigners.

In 1692, when there was no further use for troops at home, all being perfectly quiet in Great Britain and Ireland, the best regiments were sent to the army in Flanders, and amongst others, those of the Scotch Brigade. It appears, that one of those regiments had been with the army in 1690; for the Marquis de Quincy, in his Military History, in giving a list of all the troops of the Allies at the battle of Fleurus, places Colyear's regiment next to the Scotch Guards.

The Brigade suffered much at the battle of Steinkerque, where King William commanded the army in person. Gen. Mackay, who had come off safe from a great number of engagements, in which he always maintained the reputation of the corps he commanded, finished his career in that field.

While the British regiments were in the pay of Holland, the Officers Commissions were in the
name

name of the States, and it was not thought necessary they should have other commissions, even when they were upon the establishment of their own country, until vacancies happened, in which case the new commissions were in the King's name. Thus, when Colonel Hugh Mackay came over to England on the recall of the Brigade in 1685, King James promoted him to the rank of Major General, not considering him the less as a Colonel in his army, that his former commission was in the name of the States. And when the same General Mackay, who held his regiment by a Dutch commission, was killed, the regiment was given a few days after to Colonel Æneas Mackay, whose commission* is English, and in the name of King William and Queen Mary†.

* Now in possession of his grandson, Colonel Æneas Mackay, with several other Commissions of Officers of the Brigade, in the same form and stile.

† Thus the date of the Commission decided the rank, in whatever name or language it was written; for as it was by the authority of the Kings of Scotland that those regiments had been paid by the Dutch Republic, and had their Commissions from the States General, the succeeding Kings sustained the validity of the rank of the Officers, in which they only ratified what had been done by their predecessors. The justice of which rule will be acknowledged by every one who considers that a Lieutenant Colonel, for example, who had served as such fifteen years or more, might otherwise be subjected to the command of one who had not been in the same rank as many days, which, besides the humiliation of it to the person himself, is obviously repugnant to subordination and discipline, consequently repugnant to the good of the King's service, or in other words, to the good of the nation.

The

The next great action in which the Scotch Brigade was engaged, was the bloody battle of Nerwinden, or Landen, where the allied army was likewise commanded by King William in person. The French army, which was greatly superior in numbers, was commanded by Marshal Luxembourg, one of the ablest Generals of that age.

In 1693, according to the Marquis de Quincy, who enters more into such details than Feuquieres, (though he commanded one of the wings of the French army) twelve thousand of the British and their Allies were killed, and six thousand of the French.

In July 1695, King William being occupied with the siege of Namur, left the command of his army in the Province of Flanders to the Prince of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, who finding himself all at once in danger of being surrounded by two French armies, greatly superior in numbers, executed one of the most admirable retreats of any recorded in history. His army, which consisted of fifty battalions of foot, and fifty-one squadrons of horse and dragoons, British, Germans, and Dutch, was encamped near the village of Arseel, and on the right of the line
of

of foot was posted the Scotch Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Colyear, afterwards Earl of Portmore. In the retreat, the regiments of that Brigade were intermixed with the right wing of horse; and after the Prince had so imposed upon the French Generals as entirely to defeat their purpose of surrounding him, an English* Historian says, ‘ The French finding themselves thus
 ‘ strangely baffled, did what they could to fall
 ‘ upon the rear of the Allies, &c. but the defiles
 ‘ being advantageous, and Brigadier Colyear having ordered all the grenadiers of his Brigade to
 ‘ the rear of all, to face the enemy from time to
 ‘ time as they approached, the grenadiers with
 ‘ their fire kept the French at a distance, and
 ‘ made good the retreat.’

The Brigade, or some part of it, must soon after have joined the army besieging Namur, under King William in person, for there Brigadier Æneas Mackay, who was Colonel of one of the regiments, was killed. His regiment was given to Robert Murray of Melgum, afterwards Lieutenant General, the father of General Count Murray, who was long Commander in Chief of the Emperor Joseph’s forces in the Netherlands,

* Tindal, in his Continuation of Rapin’s History.

and,

and, in the absence of the Archduchess Christina, acted as Governor General of those Provinces.

After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the Scotch Brigade returning to Britain with the rest of the army, was mostly stationed in Scotland, being on the establishment of that kingdom; though we find that some Scotch regiments were then on the English establishment, such as the Earl of Orkney's regiment, known now by the name of the Royal, which consisted of twenty-six companies. The total of the troops on the English establishment in the year 1698, after the Dutch Guards and all the foreign troops had been dismissed, amounted only to seven thousand men; that being the number to which the land forces were restricted by Parliament, besides those on the Irish establishment; so that the reduction must have been very great, for immediately after the Peace of Ryswick, the number of the troops on the English establishment alone amounted to 20,943, besides the foreign troops then in English pay. If the troops of Scotland were reduced in the same proportion, the three regiments distinguished by the name of the Scotch Brigade must have made a very considerable part of the peace establishment of that kingdom. It appears that there was no intention of those regiments being again in the pay of the
Dutch

Dutch Republic, otherwise it is natural to suppose they would have been left in the Netherlands when the rest of the British troops came over at the Peace of Ryswick, or that they would have been sent to Holland in 1698, when the great reduction took place.

The occasion of those regiments being again employed in Holland was this: a Memorial given by the Dutch Ambassador to King William, in February 1701, having been laid before Parliament, it was resolved by the House of Commons, ‘ That an humble Address be made to His Majesty, that he will please to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the States General of the United Provinces and other Potentates, as may most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of these kingdoms and the States General, and the preservation of the peace of Europe; and giving him assurances of support and assistance in performance of the Treaty made with the States General in 1677.’

In the ensuing month of April, the States General having refused to treat with France, but in conjunction with England, Tindal says, ‘ Two or three fruitless conferences passed at the Hague, wherein the French Ambassador was
L still

‘ still attempting to draw in the States to treat
 ‘ alone, without the concurrence of England,
 ‘ which they would by no means agree to. His
 ‘ Majesty, in return, did all that lay in his power
 ‘ to assist them ; for which end he sent the three
 ‘ Scotch regiments, retained in his own pay in
 ‘ Scotland, over to Holland.’

The States General, in their instructions to their Ambassador in England, to thank the King upon that occasion, make no mention of those regiments as having been formerly in their pay, but call them in general terms, three Scotch regiments, two of ten companies each, and one of eight ; and instruct the Ambassador to request that the regiment of eight companies may be completed by drafts from other Scotch regiments*.

Of the three English regiments which went over from Holland to England with King William, and entered into the pay of their own country at the same time with the three Scotch, two are still upon the establishment, and their present numbers are the 5th and 6th. The Earl of Romney, who had been Colonel of the other regiment, was in the year 1689 appointed Colonel of the First Regiment of Guards ; but we cannot disco-

* Records of the States General.

ver what became of that regiment of the British Brigade serving in Holland, in the command of which he succeeded Lord Ossory. The 5th regiment of foot had four successive Colonels during the time that it served in Dutch pay; James Viscount Clare, Sir John Fenwick, Henry Wisely, and Thomas Tollemache. The 6th regiment had likewise four Colonels before it came upon British pay, Sir Walter Vane, Luke Lillington, Thomas Astley, and Sir Henry Bellasis. These regiments take rank at this day, not from the time of their being first on the English establishment, but from the time of their being first regimented in Holland, which was in 1674; and their Colonels, General Tollemache and Sir Henry Bellasis, lost no rank by being transferred to the English establishment, although their commissions were written in the Dutch language, and in the name of the States General*.

The

* So far from losing rank, General Tollemache was on the 1st of May, 1689, appointed Colonel of the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards; so that the two first regiments of Guards were disposed of to Colonels of the British Brigade in the pay of the Dutch Republic, who had risen in that Brigade to the rank of General Officers; as the first regiment had been given two months before to Henry Sidney Earl of Romney. It was not imagined then, that because their former Commissions were in the Dutch language, and in the name of the States General, it was just that they should, when recalled or brought over to England, suffer a great loss of rank, otherwise this promotion must have produced effects which the most politic Prince of his time cannot be supposed to have risked, when two of the three kingdoms had not yet acknowledged him, and a great part of the army were still attached to their former Sovereign.—In fact, considering

The capitulation by which the States General obliged themselves to send home the British troops, whenever the King should think proper to recall them, was made at the same time with the Treaty of Alliance which is alluded to in the above-mentioned Address of the House of Commons, where that House assures the King of support and assistance in the performance of the Treaty; and under that capitulation, the Scotch Brigade remained, by the King's orders, in the pay of the Dutch Republic.

During the War of the Succession, three new raised Scotch regiments were added to the Brigade; and the whole commanded by John Duke of Argyll, whose commission as Brigadier was from the States General*. This Duke, generally distinguished by the appellation of the Great Argyll, is he of whom Pope says,

Argyll, the State's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Council and the Field.

The Duke signalized himself at the head of this celebrated body of his countrymen at the battle

the footing those regiments were upon, sometimes in the pay of their own country, sometimes in that of the Dutch Republic, a rule by which the Officers must have lost rank in both services as often as they were called home or ordered abroad, seems to require no discussion.

* Which appears from the Journals of the House of Commons, concerning the payment of arrears due by the States General to the Officers of those three regiments of the Scotch Brigade.

of

of Ramillies, at the sieges of Menin and Ostend, at the battle of Oudenarde, at the sieges of Lille, Ghent, Bruges, and Tournay.

At the battle of Malplaquet, the Duke of Argyll commanded the attack of the wood of Sart, on the right of the French intrenchments; and there John Marquis of Tullibardin, eldest son of the Duke of Atholl, was killed at the head of one of the regiments of the Brigade.

After the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the three additional regiments of the Scotch Brigade were reduced in Holland, and the Officers were not only put upon the same footing in Britain with the Officers of all other new regiments when reduced, but the States General having refused to pay their arrears, on account of a former debt owing by Great Britain to Holland, a sum of sixty-four thousand pounds sterling was granted by Parliament* for payment of those arrears. The reduced Officers of those three regiments were in every respect on the same footing with those of all other disbanded British troops.

During the long peace from the year 1713 to the year 1744, the Scotch Brigade does not seem

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 19, page 610 to 619.

to have in any degree degenerated, as appeared first by its behaviour at the siege of Tournay in the year 1745, where it still preserved its superiority over the other troops employed in the same service, but suffered greatly. Colonel Donald Mackay, who commanded one of the regiments, was killed in the defence of an out-work stormed by the French*.

In that year the Brigade was augmented by eight additional companies to each regiment, which consisting, by this augmentation, of twenty companies, formed two battalions; and in the year 1747 the Brigade was augmented further, by an entire new regiment of two battalions, under the command of Henry Douglas Earl of Drumlanrig; so that the strength of the British troops then in the pay of the Dutch Republic amounted to near six thousand.

At the battle of Raucoux, fought the 11th of October, 1746, the village of Raucoux, and those of Lier and Wareem, were occupied by eight battalions of British, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops,

* He was the son of Brigadier Æneas Mackay, killed at the siege of Namur, who had succeeded in the command of the regiment to General Hugh Mackay, killed at the battle of Steinkerque. Col. Donald Mackay's eldest son, Colonel Æneas Mackay, now living, is one of the Field Officers of the Scotch Brigade who refused to serve under foreign colours.

under

under the command of General Zastraw. Next to the village of Raucoux, were drawn up on the left the regiment of Scotch Greys, and on the right, five battalions of the Scotch Brigade, forming the extremity of the left wing of infantry. The following account of the beginning of the engagement is given in the London Gazette Extraordinary :

‘ The enemy, in three columns, was by this
 ‘ time advanced so near, that three batteries which
 ‘ we had erected began to play upon them. They
 ‘ immediately attacked Prince Waldeck’s left
 ‘ with great fury, but were repulsed several times
 ‘ with extraordinary bravery by that Prince, and
 ‘ the troops under his command. The Scotch
 ‘ Brigade particularly, behaved extremely well*.’

The French attacked the troops already mentioned, which were posted in the three villages, and which, after making a vigorous defence, and suffering very much, were forced to retire. The five battalions of the Scotch Brigade were employed in covering their retreat, and were ordered

* According to a definition of a Battle by Feuquieres and others, the action at Raucoux did not come under that description, as neither the right wing, which consisted of the Imperial troops, was engaged, nor the center, where were drawn up most of the British infantry and the Hessians. However, the number of the slain, according to the accounts of both sides, amounted to between twelve and fourteen thousand.

not to advance against the enemy, but to remain in the same position. An Officer who was present, relates, that General Colyear's regiment, in which he then served as an Ensign, was drawn up on the ridge of a rising ground, the slope of which was to the rear, so that by retiring a few paces, the cannon-balls must have passed over their heads; but it was thought requisite that they should appear in full view of the French, who kept up an incessant fire of their artillery upon them for more than two hours, without ever advancing near enough to engage with small arms.

The ardour of British soldiers to charge an enemy by whose fire they saw their comrades fall on every side, may easily be conceived, but was so much restrained by the authority of their Officers*, that the whole Brigade seemed immoveable, except when the frequent breaches which the cannon made in the ranks required to be closed up. The intrepidity and perfect order which those

* The rule observed in the Scotch Brigade, of giving Commissions only to persons of those families whom the more numerous class of the people in Scotland have from time immemorial respected as their superiors, made it easy to maintain that authority without such severity as might otherwise have been necessary. Except in cases of very extraordinary talents, the same rule was observed in the Armies of the late King of Prussia, who considered it as of great consequence, to preserve that difference of rank which is established by a succession of ages, and which has ever been voluntarily submitted to, seeming to be of more than human institution.

battalions

battalions then shewed, were greatly extolled ever after by the Prince of Waldeck, and likewise by Baron d'Aylva, a Dutch General of distinguished reputation, who happened to have the command of that part of the army. He had before shewn a violent prejudice against the Scotch; whether because of the distinctions they enjoyed above the other troops in the pay of the Republic, or because the Officers differed considerably in their character and manners from those of the German, Dutch, or Swiss regiments; but ever after the battle of Raucoux, when any of the Scotch regiments happened to be in garrison at Maestricht, of which he was Governor, he always treated them with the most distinguished favour*, so much as sometimes to disoblige not only the Germans and Swiss, but his own countrymen.

The first memorable event of the next campaign was the battle of Lafeld, in which the superior abilities of Marshal Saxe continued to prevail over the Allies. Two battalions of the Scotch Brigade shared in the bad success of that

* Many of the Officers of the Scotch Brigade, now in Britain, have heard General Aylva, who lived till after the year 1770, relate the particulars of the behaviour of the regiments upon that occasion, and always with great encomiums. A certain Prince having observed, that the Scotch soldiers were not of such a size as those of some German regiments, the General replied—‘ I saw the day that they looked taller than any of your grenadiers.’

action; a few days after which the trenches were opened before Bergen-op-zoom, by a great French army, under the command of Marshal Lovendal. France, which had in the former reign the greatest number of able Generals that any country ever produced at one time, was then obliged to have recourse to foreigners. The out-works of Bergen-op-zoom were vigorously defended during the space of two months, and the means by which the French got into the town, whether by mounting an almost impracticable, but undefended breach, or by a sally-port being opened for them from within, or by both together, remains a matter of doubt; but it is known to many eye-witnesses now living, that after the Governor, General Cromstrom, and almost the whole garrison, had abandoned the defence, as no longer possible, and had evacuated the place, two battalions of the Scotch Brigade, supported by one Dutch battalion, attempted to drive out the French army, and maintained their ground in the streets between three and four hours.

So sudden and unexpected was the appearance of the French within the town, that the first intelligence the Commander of the Scots received was, that the enemy filled the great square. Upon this the two battalions were in a moment in arms,
and

and first secured the gate which communicated with the camp of the Allies, before the enemy had yet been able to penetrate so far. The French, appearing very soon after, and filling the rampart all the way from the breach where they mounted and the sally-port at which they were pouring in, to the Steeneberg gate, the Scots drove them back as far as the Governor's Palace.

Another column of the enemy attempting to penetrate by the Fish-market, to the same gate, were likewise driven back by a separate division of the Brigade, to the place where they had entered the town; but rushing in again in great force, they filled all the streets and lanes, in defence of which the Scots, forming several separate divisions, kept up a regular and constant fire by platoons in advancing (commonly called the street fire), and attempted to drive the French from the great square; but after a contest of several hours, finding that all the efforts of two battalions against a whole army could only end in their total destruction, their Commanding Officers having got all the Colours of the Garrison out of the Governor's house, executed a regular retreat through the Steeneberg gate, under a hot fire from the works which command the bridge, and the few that remained alive marched with colours flying

to the Camp. Of the battalion of Colyear's regiment present on that occasion, which was six hundred and sixty strong, only a hundred and fifty-six men remained. The battalion of Marjoribanks' regiment lost fifteen Officers, but the number of private men has not come to our knowledge. So many Captains and Lieutenants were killed, that immediately after the siege, companies were disposed of to Ensigns, as the promotion in each regiment went on within itself, buying and selling of commissions not being admitted in the Scotch Brigade, the Officers of which were much upon the same footing, as to advancement, with those of the British Navy*.

At the commencement of the war between Great Britain and France in 1755, the Scotch Brigade naturally expected to be recalled, according to the Treaty subsisting for that purpose. In wars wherein the Dutch Republic was engaged as well as Great Britain, there could be no question of calling home the Scotch Brigade, while

* This account of the siege of Bergen-op-zoom is taken from the relations of several Officers who were present. The Hague Gazette published at the time, perfectly agrees with those relations, and mentions further, that the fire kept up by those of the garrison in the great square, was so hot, that the French, to screen themselves from it, although their whole army was pouring into the town, formed a parapet of the fascines and gabions which had been deposited there for the use of the besieged.

other troops were sent to the Netherlands or to Germany, and so burdening this country with an expence which an Ally was willing to bear. There was still greater reason for not recalling them when there was no war, as by their remaining in the Dutch territories, the nation reaped the double advantage of saving in time of peace the expence of maintaining a body of veteran troops of which it could command the service in war. But when great bodies of troops were brought over from Germany for the defence of this island, why six old battalions, of which both Officers and private men were entirely British, and which were at all times accustomed to the same duty and discipline as if in presence of an enemy, should have been left in a foreign country, while many new regiments were raised at home, seems extremely unaccountable. It was believed in the Brigade, that the Princess Dowager of Orange had requested of the late King, her father, to leave those regiments in Holland, as a sure support to the interest of her infant son, against the French faction, which then began to gain ground.

Some imagined that their not being called home was owing to their being entirely Scotch, and thence not in favour with the then administration of military affairs, although they had a
greater

greater share than any other troops of this kingdom, except the 5th and 6th regiments, in fixing the Protestant Branch of the Royal Family on the Throne, and had been employed more than a hundred years before that period in rescuing a Protestant country from the tyranny of the Inquisition*.

In 1757, soon after suffering the mortification of being left useless in Holland, while their own country was engaged in war, those regiments underwent that of being obliged to recruit foreigners, because of the great levies then making in Scotland. But in the same year that their recruiting at home was suspended, it was thought ne-

* The idea, that the character of those regiments remained so long the same, may seem erroneous to those who are not informed, that besides what was common to them with other Societies, such as Universities, the principles of which are not supposed to change, a great part of the Officers of the Scotch Brigade were of the same families for many generations. One of the regiments had four Colonels of the name and family of Mackay, the first of whom acted a considerable part in the reduction of Ireland after the Revolution. Another bore the name of Colyear's Regiment near eighty years; having been successively commanded by Sir Alexander Colyear, by his eldest son Sir David, afterwards Earl of Portmore, and by his second son Field Marshal Colyear. The family of the Halketts have served in the Brigade from its first going over, several of them in high rank. Branches of the Bruces, Murrays, Cuninghames, &c. have likewise served in it for several generations; and the fathers or grandfathers of most of the remaining Officers had bore Commissions in it. So that whatever qualities are supposed to descend in families, contributed to the continuation of the same character in those regiments, as well as the invariableness of education.

cessary

cessary to secure the allegiance of those regiments to the Crown of Great Britain by an Act of Parliament, obliging the Officers to take the same oaths with those of regiments serving in the British dominions; which had not before been required, except of the private soldiers, who had always taken the same oaths with all other British troops; but from that time the private soldiers were subjected to no oath whatever, the States General requiring none except of the Officers, upon whom alone the actions of the troops depended, for private soldiers were not punishable even for rebellion, if acting by the command of their Officers.

In the year 1764, orders for recruiting the Brigade in Scotland were again issued, but soon after withdrawn, upon representations being made, by a description of men who could not see the advantage of having a considerable body of veteran troops kept up in time of peace, without any expence to the nation, or perhaps thought there was no use for any troops whatever in time of peace, and that the fate of Great Britain might be trusted to an army raised after a war breaks out, against one composed of regular battalions trained many years.

In

In the year 1776, a message was delivered in the King's name to the States General, by Sir Joseph Yorke, then Ambassador at the Hague, signifying His Majesty's desire that the Scotch Brigade should be sent home. Although the private men were then in general foreigners by birth, very few of them were natives of the United Netherlands, and being under the absolute command of British Officers*, were still entirely at His Majesty's disposal. Duke Lewis of Brunswick, then Commander in Chief of the Dutch land forces, urged the necessity of a body of

* Although British Officers must always wish to command their own countrymen, than whom there cannot be better stuff for forming excellent troops, without the same severity that is found necessary with the natives of most other countries; yet where the sovereign authority over the soldiers of a regiment is delegated to the Officers, and they alone responsible for its actions, the discipline being at the same time such that the private soldiers are accustomed to have no will whatever, it matters little as to the services which the nation may expect from such a regiment, in what part of the world those soldiers were born. The private soldiers of a very great proportion of those troops with which the late King of Prussia triumphed over the greatest military Powers of Europe combined against him, were not his own subjects, but thousands of them were born the subjects of those very Sovereigns with whom he was engaged in war. The Comte de Vair, who wrote his Ideas on the Art of War at the very time he served in Marshal Broglio's army against the King of Prussia and his Allies, and who was killed at the head of the French Volunteers, on the 15th of July, 1760, says, in a Chapter upon Military Discipline, 'It is by the force of discipline that a truly military King gains victories with troops inferior in number to those of his enemies; troops composed of all the nations of Europe; troops not animated by that national spirit which raises courage and makes it permanent, but troops truly capable of every thing, because they are disciplined.'

German

German troops being taken into the pay of the Republic in place of the British regiments. To this the States being extremely averse, they signified to Sir Joseph Yorke their wishes, that the Brigade might remain with them; so that, to the great mortification, and as it afterwards proved, the great loss of the Officers concerned, the power of recalling it was not exercised.

From that time, the party hostile to this country and to the House of Orange, continued to gain ground, until they prevailed so far as to bring on an open rupture betwixt Great Britain and the Republic. Sir Joseph Yorke being at Antwerp, in his way to England from the Hague, in January 1781, a Field Officer of the Scotch Brigade went to ask directions of him with regard to the conduct which the Brigade should hold in such an embarrassing situation. He answered, that they must remain quiet where they were, until they should receive instructions from home.

A great alarm being occasioned in Holland, by the presence of six battalions under the absolute command of British Officers, who might think their temporary allegiance to the States annulled by the rupture with Great Britain, and superseded by the allegiance which they owed at

all times, and had likewise sworn to their own Sovereign, the Prince of Orange found it necessary to send those battalions out of the Seven Provinces, to places garrisoned by troops of the Republic, situated along the river Meuse, which were Grave, Venlo, Maestricht, and Namur.

The Field Officers, thinking, that although there might have been reasons five years before, which induced His Majesty to desist from his purpose of recalling them, yet there could be none for leaving them in a country at war with Great Britain, sent home repeated requests to be recalled; but it was given them to understand, that there were still hopes of matters being made up, and that Government did not chuse to widen the breach by recalling them.

In the year 1782, it was resolved by the States General, that an Edict should be issued, obliging the Officers of the Scotch Brigade to declare that they acknowledged no Power but them as their lawful Sovereign; that His Majesty's Royal Colours, which had come off triumphant from so many battles and sieges, should be taken from them; that the British uniform, sash and gorget, beat of drum, and word of command, should be abolished, and the regiments totally changed into Dutch troops.

The

The only rule of conduct which the Officers of the Scotch Brigade could then follow, was that of Officers who had in the execution of their duty, and without any fault or error that could be imputed to them, fallen into the hands of the enemy: if such Officers are not detained prisoners, it is their undoubted duty to return home. This the Officers of the Scotch Brigade now in Great Britain did, after rejecting the offer made to them by the States General, of being continued in the certainty of constant advancement during life, provided they would consent to serve under the Colours of Their High Mightinesses, and become their troops. But whatever the means may have been by which a British regiment has fallen into the enemy's hands, it cannot be in the power of that enemy to extinguish or abolish it. The regiment still exists in the persons of the remaining Officers. The three regiments of the Scotch Brigade were permanent on the peace establishment of Scotland, after the great reduction subsequent to the Peace of Ryswick, at which time all the land forces on the establishment of England amounted only to seven thousand men. Consequently, at the time those regiments were ordered abroad by King William to the defence of the Dutch Republic, the case was the same as if three of the oldest regiments of the British line

were now ordered abroad, and that the Ally to whose assistance they were sent should save Government the expence of paying them. Whatever conditions it might please the King to settle with his Ally concerning those regiments, such conditions could not degrade the regiments in any degree from their former state. His Majesty would surely not permit that they should lose any of their former rights or pretensions, by having served under conditions to which he himself thought proper to subject them.

The argument, that before the regiments of the Scotch Brigade came upon the establishment of their own country in the year 1688, they had existed long in the pay of a Foreign State, can no more serve against their pretensions than it could against those of the fifth and sixth regiments of foot, which came at the same time upon the establishment of England from the pay of the same State*.

* It is to be observed, that the Officers of the fifth and sixth regiments of foot took rank in the English Army from the date of their Dutch Commissions, which is evident from this, that even the regiments themselves took rank from the time they were formed in Holland, which was in the year 1674, although they only came upon the establishment in 1688. We quote this example, as being the last until the year 1782, of Officers of permanent British regiments being transferred from Holland to Britain by the King's authority.

Arguments against the pretensions of the Scotch Brigade, have been grounded upon the very hardships which that body of troops has suffered since the year 1755.

Several Officers of the Brigade, now in Britain, had, before that time, companies entirely composed of Scots, and some of them had served under one of those Colonels* who had commanded the same regiment when on the establishment of Scotland; but because those Officers suffered in 1755 the hardship of being left in the pay of a Foreign State, while many new regiments were raised at home, and great bodies of Germans taken into British pay (notwithstanding the services that might have been expected from six veteran battalions, then entirely British, whose behaviour a few years before could not have been forgot); because, in consequence of being so left, they suffered the hardship of being obliged to complete their companies with natives of foreign countries; and because, last of all, they suffered the hardship of being left in the power of a State at war with Great Britain, while several new regiments were again raising at home, and bodies of

* Field Marshal Colyear, uncle of the late Earl of Portmore, and Great-grand-father of the present Duke of Dorset, who is his lineal heir.

foreign troops brought over at a great expence ; for those reasons, they, who were by this last hardship reduced nearly to the condition of prisoners of war, and forced to return home individually, ought to be treated, said their opponents, in proportion to the condition to which they were reduced.

It is impossible that the Sovereign himself should consider regiments as fallen from their original state, because of the kind of service on which he thought proper to employ them, or of the part of the world where it was his pleasure they should remain ; and it would be equally absurd to suppose that the nation at large could, or their Representatives in Parliament. In whatever part of the world the Sovereign thinks proper that his troops should serve, the merit of their services must be the same. If it is only in repelling an invasion that troops can be considered as serving their country, wherefore was a magnificent Palace built at the expence of the nation, in reward of great actions performed in support of Allies ?

The Regiments whose History we have related, bore a considerable part in almost all those great actions, as well as in many more, both before and since. Although the Officers now remaining
were

were not present themselves, the fathers and grandfathers of many of them were, and they who fell in those memorable conflicts, little thought that their lives being so bestowed, would prove a loss of rank and fortune to their descendants, in a country where military merit was in other cases so highly prized and rewarded; or that any of their countrymen would oppose the preservation of the regiments themselves, at a period when the land forces of Great Britain should be augmented to ten times the number that were on foot when those regiments were permanent on the establishment.

But their gracious Sovereign, whose protection ever supplies the want of friends to those whose only support is the justice of their cause, considering the case in the same light as it must naturally have been considered by his Royal predecessor who sent those Regiments abroad, has been pleased to order that they should be embodied anew. The honour of that nation of whose long line of Kings His Majesty is the descendant and successor*, was concerned in the preservation of
three

* There seems to be no good reason why a native of this Island should wish to depreciate an honour which Great Britain may claim; yet we find some British Historians extremely averse to allow what is acknowledged even by foreign Writers, that the Royal Family of Great Britain, traced

three regiments, which, after wars had happily
ceased between the two kingdoms of this island,
were

traced back before King James I. in the line of the Kings
of Scotland, has reigned during a longer course of cen-
turies than any other Royal Family in Europe.

Those Historians are equally averse to acknowledge,
that the success of any of the Britons in repelling invasions,
was owing to their valour.—If neither Romans, Norwe-
gians, Saxons, Danes, or Normans, succeeded in their
attempts to conquer the northern part of the Island, it must
have been owing, say those Writers, to the mountainous
nature of the country. But if they had taken the trouble
to examine facts, instead of reasoning on their own con-
jectures, they would have found, that the Battles of Loncarty,
Barry Aberlemno, Cru-dane, Gemry, Largis, Allerton,
Stirling, Roslin, and Bannock-burn, in which the North
Britons defeated the Armies of the four last mentioned
Nations, were all fought in the low country, and near the
sea.

As to the military operations of the Romans in North
Britain, although the only accounts of them we have are
by Roman Writers (excepting traditional Poems), we are
willing to admit that their not proving effectual, may be
attributed partly to the nature of the country; but let
whoever supposes it was entirely so, reflect, that the Alps
are more inaccessible than any mountains in Britain, yet
Swisserland was subjected to the Roman yoke, and to three
other foreign Powers, since the Fall of the Empire.

Except in engagements betwixt very small armies, or in
ground where only small bodies of troops could act toge-
ther,

were the Representatives of their Country in the
wars

ther, neither superior strength and agility, joined with the most impetuous bravery, nor superior numbers, nor long experience, in such wars as the Gauls and Britons had the constant practice of, could resist armies formed as those of the Romans were, upon the most perfect principles of the military science; the Officers of which, in every rank, were such masters of their profession, as to see at once what was best to be done on every emergency that did not admit of waiting for orders: the private soldiers so taught, that all the individuals composing a cohort were capable of acting together as one man; consequently, as all the actions of entire cohorts and legions depended solely upon the Officers, the General could exert the united efforts of the whole army in whatever manner his judgment might dictate.

But the Historians alluded to, who endeavour to make it be believed that the Romans left Caledonia unconquered, because of the small revenue they could expect to draw from that country, prove the contrary themselves, by the facts which they are afterwards obliged to relate.

One of those Writers*, judging from mercantile ideas, supposes the Romans to have considered with contempt, a country that did not abound with gold and silver, or with the means of drawing those metals from other countries: forgetting that the Romans themselves did not owe their greatness, in the smallest degree, either to the vegetable produce of the earth, or to what is dug out of it; and that the most extensive and richest kingdoms of antiquity, have all been obliged in their turn, to submit to the su-

* Mr. HUME, in his History of England.

wars of the Continent upwards of two hundred
years,

perior power of nations possessing territories of small extent,
and without trade or riches.

To prove that the Romans used as great efforts against the North Britons as they did against any other nation, it will suffice to place in one point of view what the Roman Historians themselves relate on the subject.

Agricola, the Roman Governor of South Britain, invaded Caledonia in the year 80 of the Christian *Æra*; carried on the war five years, and constructed a line of forts betwixt the Forth and Clyde.—Tacitus, in relating those operations of Agricola, who was his father-in-law, describes the Caledonians as one of those powerful nations whom the Romans could best overcome by taking advantage of their internal divisions. After observing how the Gauls, ‘once eminent for warlike prowess and renown,’ were degenerated (which Cæsar likewise informs us, was the case even in his time, from the introduction of luxury), and that the same ‘had happened to those of the Britons who were conquered long ago,’ he adds, ‘the rest still continue such as the Gauls once were.’ And after describing their government, and manner of waging war, he concludes, ‘Nor against nations so powerful does ought so much avail us, that they consult not in a body for the security of the whole.’

In the year 121, the Emperor Adrian, who commanded his army in person against the Caledonians and Maeatae, terminated his operations by raising a rampart betwixt New-castle and the mouth of the Solway, withdrawing the boundary of the Empire so as to leave out an extent of more than eight thousand square miles, mostly equal in fertility to any
in

years, shewing Europe a sample of that race whose
 martial

in the Island. And it must be observed, that one half of the extent of rampart would have sufficed where the former boundary stood.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Caledonians and Maeatae broke down Adrian's wall in several places, and invaded the Roman Province*. Lollius Urbicus was sent to command the army against them in the year 138, and reconquered from the Maeatae all the country to the south of the Forth and Clyde. He repaired the line of forts betwixt those rivers, and joined them all along by a wall twelve feet thick.

In the year 161, Calpurnius Agricola was sent with an army against the Maeatae, who inhabited the country to the south of that wall, which proves, that if that district was conquered before, it was very incompletely.

In the year 180, the Caledonians broke through' the same wall, and invaded what the Romans considered as their territories. Ulpius Marcellus, who was sent to command the army against them, defeated them in several battles, according to the Roman Writers; but what the consequences were, are not mentioned.

* From the speech of Galgacus to the Caledonian army, as related by Tacitus, it appears that the object of the North Britons was to deliver the whole Island from the Roman yoke. In the beginning of the speech he says, ' I have great confidence that this day and this union of yours, will ' prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain;' and afterwards, ' The other Britons, in their past conflicts with the Romans, which were ' carried on with various success, had still a remaining source of hope and ' succour in this our nation.'

martial prowess in repelling the invasions of the
most

In the year 198, the Caledonians and Maeatae invaded South Britain, and spread desolation, say those Authors, wherever they came. Virius Lupus was sent Governor of the Province, to repel them; but not being able to accomplish it by force, he prevailed upon them, by ransoming the prisoners they had taken, to retire.

Those incursions being renewed with great violence for several years, the Governor of South Britain wrote to the Emperor Severus, entreating him either to send over a much greater body of troops, or to come in person.

The Emperor accordingly set out from Rome, made mighty preparations of every kind, landed in Britain, and advanced towards Caledonia, at the head of what the Historians term a very great army.

Thus a Monarch, who had more than six thousand miles of frontier to defend, besides the coasts, came in person a thousand miles from his capital, to defend one of the Provinces of his Empire from the invasion of a people with whom the Romans had waged war a hundred and twenty-six years, but whom they left unconquered, because, according to some British Historians, they did not chuse to conquer them.

On the Emperor's arrival in Britain, at the head of so great an army, the Caledonians sent Ambassadors to propose terms of peace; but Severus put them off with an evasive answer, until his intentions could no longer be doubted of, and invaded their country, resolving to make an entire conquest of Britain.

How

most formidable Powers, has ever preserved them
from

How far he succeeded, may be best judged of by the consequences. After losing fifty thousand men, he concluded a peace with the Caledonians, and repast the Tweed. Then set about building a wall on the same ground to which Adrian had withdrawn the boundary of the Empire before.

This famous wall, the ruins of which are still to be seen, extended from the Tyne at Newcastle to the Solway Firth, beyond Carlisle. It was twelve feet high, and eight feet thick, all of free stone. It was accompanied with a wide and deep ditch, flanked with towers, at the distance of three hundred yards from each other, and with castles sixty feet square from space to space, at the distance of six furlongs. The whole extent of the wall was sixty-eight miles, yet intelligence could be communicated from one extremity to the other in the space of a few minutes; so that wherever the enemy might make an attack, immediate assistance could be sent*.

It is remarkable, that three of the Roman Emperors derived Honorary Surnames from their wars with the North Britons. Adrian was named by the Senate, the Restorer of Britain; Antoninus Pius, because of the success of his Generals, was named Britannicus; and Severus, for hav-

* This Wall, without either Castles or Towers, the height of which we are not informed of, contained thirty-two millions six hundred and forty thousand cubic feet, consequently the price of the stone, without the labour, would amount now in London, at the lowest rate, to three millions two hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds sterling. The remains of this great work might have served more modern invaders, as a warning to go no further, and prevented even their sacrificing myriads of lives in attempting what the repeated efforts of the Roman armies could not accomplish.

from a fate which almost all other nations have undergone.

ing repelled the Caledonians, and secured, as was supposed, the Roman part of Britain by this prodigious wall, was named *Britannicus Maximus*.

However, the year after the wall was finished, that is, in 210, the Caledonians and *Maeatae* renewed the war, and *Severus*, who was then ill himself, sent his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, at the head of an army, against them. What part of Britain was the seat of war, is not mentioned, nor what operations were executed; but *Severus* dying, *Caracalla* became Emperor, and made peace with the Caledonians.

The descendants of those Caledonians have, during a long course of centuries after the Romans left Britain, repelled the frequent invasions not only of the Danes and Norwegians, who had a great extent of sea to cross, but those so often repeated of a powerful and warlike nation, from whom they were only separated by two small rivers: a nation who for valour and martial spirit were not inferior to the Romans; and the monuments of whose victorious arms are still to be seen in the innermost Provinces of France, and even as far as Palestine. Could both nations now joined in one, resume their former martial character, and while they rose superior to other nations in Arts and Sciences, had they, like the ancient Greeks, been careful to preserve the same superiority in war (instead of deceiving themselves with an idea, that a handful of troops maintained in time of peace can be augmented at once into a formidable army, while other Powers are at all times in a state of defence), then they alone might already have established peace and order in Europe, at the expence of the common enemy, instead of being reduced to the necessity of hiring foreign armies for that purpose.

FINIS.



